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MISS JENNIFER MARY COBB B.A. (LONDON)

THE CULT OF VESTA IN THE ROMAN WORLD

SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF M.PHIL

FACULTY OF ARTS : CLASSICAL STUDIES

DATE OF SUBMISSION : 27 MAY 1983

Date of submission: 27 May 1983

Date of award: 14 March 1984

ProQuest Number: 27777207

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Ack.....

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Disposal.....

This thesis comprises a study of the origins, history and importance of the cult of Vesta in the Roman world.

Its principal findings are that the cult was probably derived from the Greek cult of Hestia and entered Rome from the Greek colonies of Southern Italy no later than the sixth century BC., the period when it first appeared in the Forum. The organisation of the Vestal Virgins and the position of the temple near the Regia strongly suggests that the cult was connected with the monarchy and survived the expulsion of the regal family because the goddess had by then become regarded as one of the guardians of the State, whilst the Vestal Virgins participated in festivals such as the Parilia and the Argei which were connected with Rome's spiritual and material wellbeing.

The public cult was confined to these areas where Roman influence was paramount, especially to Rome itself, Tibur and Colonia or military settlements in Spain, Gaul and Germany. Evidence for a private cult comprises scattered references by classical writers and Pompeian wall paintings discovered in private houses and pistrina which depict Vesta in the company of an ass. Her association with the ass probably occurred at an early period in the development of the cult and resulted in her becoming a goddess favoured by the baking trade, following the growth of the large baking establishments and the introduction of the donkey-driven mill in the second century BC.

The cult achieved its greatest influence during the Empire when it became closely associated with the imperial house. Evidence from inscriptions and coinage indicates its prestige reached its zenith in the second and third centuries AD.;

thereafter it declined owing to the rise of Christianity.

There is no evidence of its survival into the fifth century.

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CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS OF THE CULT OF VESTA

The origins of the cult of Vesta are a complex problem which has no easy solution. Classical authors considered that it had been introduced into Rome in the days of Numa Pompilius or of Romulus. Modern scholars have turned to anthropology and comparative religion, whilst archaeology has thrown new light on the origins of Rome and the external influences upon the early city. Therefore, this chapter will consist of five sections dealing with, respectively, archaeological evidence, the opinions of classical writers, the claims of Lavinium and Alba Longa to have been the home of Vesta, the theories of modern scholars and a summary of conclusions.

I. THE EVIDENCE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

The earliest traces of habitation on the site of Rome have been found on the Esquiline Hill and can be dated to the Chalcolithic Age. Though the evidence is sparse, the remains of flint and stone knives, scrapers and arrow-heads go back to the earlier part of the second millennium BC. The settlements on the Esquiline continued through to the Bronze Age, as was shown by the discovery of two bronze hand axes, whilst during the period settlements also appeared on the Palatine and the Capitoline, as Bronze Age pottery found in the filling layers of the Forum Boarium has indicated. This pottery, which belongs to the Apenninetype¹ ranges in date between the fourteenth century and the ninth century BC.

The evidence of settlements on the hills of Rome becomes stronger from about the ninth century BC onwards when tombs began to appear in the Forum Valley near the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. These probably represent the necropolis of a settlement centred on the Palatine. Other groups of tombs found between the Oppius and the Cispius probably belong to the village on the Equiline while the two tombs in the Augustan Forum may have been connected with a settlement on the Quirinal. These tombs show distinct differences in type, which is related to which settlements they belong to, and were either pozzo, which were associated with cremations, or fossa, which were inhumations. In the Palatine necropolis the proportion of cremation to inhumation was in the region of 60/40, whilst the Esquiline necropolis was predominantly inhumation. These differences suggest that though the villages were very close geographically, they were sufficiently isolated to develop their own separate identities; there is no evidence to show whether the villages were inhabited by different tribes. This individuality is also exhibited in the types of pozzo found in the early tombs, as those connected with the Esquiline were square whilst those connected with the Palatine settlement were round; however, these differences disappear from the later tombs and the Palatine type predominates, possibly indicating a closer link between the two settlements with the Palatine being the senior member.

The dating of these and subsequent periods of Rome's early history has produced a great deal of controversy.

Einar Gjerstad² had divided it into four periods: Period I dates from 800-750 BC., Period II from 750-700 BC., Period

III from 700-625 BC., and Period IV from 625-575 BC.

He also considers that Etruscan rule did not end until c.450 BC. This chronology has not been widely accepted. Müller-Karpe, for example³, has placed the beginnings of settlement in the tenth century, with the eighth century seeing the Forum becoming a market-place rather than a cemetery, whilst Momigliano regards Gjerstad's dates with caution and is inclined to place the Palatine settlement somewhat earlier⁴. Ridgway, too, finds Gjerstad's dates too low and considers that Period I should end well before 750 BC⁵. A more extreme reaction has been expressed by R.E.A. Palmer, who has stated of Gjerstad's theories in general⁶:

Gjerstad's work is founded on violation of the Latin language, of linguistic rules, of source criticism, of historical methodology, of archaeological interpretation and of logical argument....

It is probable that Gjerstad's dating system has resulted in a lower set of dates than may strictly be accurate, especially since one of his main concerns is to validate his contention that Etruscan influence lasted longer than is generally recognised. As all arguments on the chronology of early Rome are based on comparisons of pottery sherds found in Rome and those on comparable sites in Latium and Campania, a great deal depends on whether these can be accurately dated. As the dating system used in this study is based on that of Gjerstad, it is necessary to enter the caveat that these dates are only approximate and should probably be revised upwards to a certain degree, though not as radically as two hundred years; a range of \pm 25 years

is therefore being assumed, i.e. nearer to Momigliano and Ridgway.

The expansion of the hill settlements into the valleys can be seen during the seventh century BC. During this period the earlier necropolis near the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina was overlaid by huts and work commenced on the draining of the Forum. One stage in the synoecism of these villages may be seen in the institution of the Septimontium festival which does not refer to the Seven Hills of Classical Rome, as the Quirinal and Viminal were excluded, but, according to Festus and Varro⁷ was celebrated by the inhabitants of the Palatine, Velia and Cermalus, the three peaks of the Palatine; the Fagutal, Oppius and Cispius, the three peaks of the Esquiline; and the Caelius. There is also a reference to the Subura, which seems unlikely since this was a valley between the Viminal and Esquiline; it is therefore possible that the reference is a misreading of Sucusa, which was the name given to the northern slope of the Caelius. Another suggestion has been that the festival was not of the septem montes but the saepti montes, from the palisade that enclosed them, in which case the number of hills participating could have been more than seven⁸.

Gjerstad sees the festival as reflecting a definite stage in the political union of the hills, with the Forum representing the frontier between the Septimontium and those outside the league. Momigliano⁹ also considers that the Septimontium belongs to a very early period of Rome's history and places it as occurring after the fusion of the Palatine settlements, though with the proviso that it might predate it, since the three peaks are represented separately, and has suggested

that the confederation might also have had a religious purpose¹⁰. The next stage of Rome's development was therefore the union of the Septimontium with the communities on the Quirinal and Viminal, possibly reflected in the division of the Salii into the Salii Palatini and the Salii Collini, representing the Palatine and Quirinal¹¹. It is interesting to note that Varro¹² considered that the Quirinal was inhabited by Sabines; if this is so, and the presence of numerous Sabine words adopted into Latin suggests it is quite possible¹³, then the fusion between Latins and Sabines at Rome must belong to a period prior to the emergence of the archaic city.

The archaic city of Rome has been considered by Gjerstad¹⁴ to have come into existence c.600 BC. Though there has been a considerable amount of discussion about this assertion, since Gjerstad regards the institution of the kingship and the beginning of urbanisation as contemporary events¹⁵, a consensus has emerged which places his date at the end of a long development rather than at the beginning, and as a result of Etruscan influence¹⁶. Indeed, Etruscan influence has been identified by Gjerstad himself in his Period III, which he dated from c.700-625 BC., so it becomes even more unlikely that Roman legends placing Romulus as first king of Rome can be reconciled with a period late enough for Etruscan influence to have become paramount. If archaic Rome is accepted as a unification of the Septimontium and the other hills under Etruscan domination, it fits into the historical pattern of Etruscan expansion southwards which was taking place during this period. A major result of this unification was the draining and paving of the Forum valley,

and the laying out of the first roads linking the Forum with the surrounding hills. Of these roads, the Sacra Via led from the Forum to the Velia and the Palatine, whilst the Vicus Jugarius led to the Forum Boarium, also laid out at this period, the Vicus Tuscus led to the Tiber harbour, the Clivus Capitolinus connected with the Capitoline and the Argiletum linked the Quirinal, Viminal and Esquiline. It is to this period of urbanisation that the first traces of the cult of Vesta can be found.

It has been pointed out by several scholars, e.g. Alföldi¹⁸, that the Temple of Vesta was situated on the boundary of the settlements of the Septimontium and the Quirinal, and this position, outside both areas, was designed to link them as one community. The remains of the temple in the Forum were first excavated and published by Lanciani in 1884¹⁹ and further excavated by Boni in 1898²⁰. Although the remains were considerable, only a few belonged to its early history, and the majority were imperial in date. Boni discovered the remains of a heavy circular foundation platform with a diameter of 15.05m. and a thickness of 2.17m. It was built of concrete which consisted of chips of Anio tufa bound by a mortar of lime and pozzolana and faced by opus incertum. On top of this platform there was a podium consisting of two courses of tufa blocks with small stones in the interstices, as well as the remains of the cella wall. All of these fragments belonged to the reconstruction and restoration made by Julia Domna, whilst the foundation platform and podium have been assigned to the time of Augustus. In the middle of the cella there was found a slightly trapezoidal pit, the north side measuring 2.05m. the west side 2.47m., the east side 2.45m., and the south

side 2.30m., constructed of opus incertum for the lower course and of brick for the upper. This pit contained fragments of pottery, animal bones and other waste material which were probably the remains of ex votos.

Although Boni was unable to excavate any earlier remains of the temple, he did discover sacrificial remains inside the north and south-west segments of a foundation which had been cut through by the Augustan platform. Whilst this may date back to the late Republic, it was not further investigated. However, an analysis of the sacrificial remains has provided evidence of the cult going back to the sixth century BC.

The sacrificial remains consisted of ash, pieces of carbonised wood and a great many animal bones, especially of oxen, pigs and sheep. There were also numerous objects mixed in with them which appear to have been either ex votos or utensils associated with the cult, and consisted of different kinds of vases, fragments of a terracotta sieve, terracotta statuettes, pieces of bronze and lead and a couple of bronze coins, the last of which have set a lower chronological limit for the finds of the third century BC. The actual date of their deposition cannot be ascertained, though Gjerstad²¹ has suggested the rebuilding of the temple after the fire of 241 BC., or possibly after 118 BC., when it is known that the Regia was destroyed by fire. He also regards the finds as a votive deposit similar to those found in the Comitium, the Quirinal and the Capitoline. The pottery which has been dated to the archaic period comprises Italic, namely red impasto, bucchero and Italo-Corinthian, and Greek, of which black-figure predominates,

though there is also some red-figure. This has been dated by Gjerstad²² from c.560 BC. to c.500 BC.

Boni also discovered a pozzo during his excavations which contained Republican material and was situated to the east of the temple, but this was not examined until the excavations by Bartoli which started in 1930²³. As well as this pozzo, Bartoli discovered a second one, to the south-east of the temple, which contained archaic material only. This second pozzo was cylindrical in shape and measured 0.90m. in diameter and 8.0m. in depth. Most of the objects found therein were in a fragmentary condition and showed traces of burning, which suggests that they had been the remains of a violent destruction, either of the temple or of the living quarters of the Vestals, and the absence of any stratification indicates that they were all deposited at the same time. The objects discovered comprised pottery, domestic utensils, plant remains and animal bones. The pottery remains consisted of advanced impasto, buccheroid impasto, red impasto, bucchero and Italo-Corinthian types²⁴. The fragments of advanced impasto included pieces which were both hand-made and wheel-made and comprised sherds of a large bowl, several cups and handles and a small jar. The buccheroid impasto consisted of two fabrics, the first a fine, well-sifted brownish clay represented by a small base-ring of a jug, and the second a fairly coarse, red-brown clay represented by several fragments of bowls or goblets. The red impasto had a red-brown clay and comprised two shapes, the one a bowl and the other a jug, whilst the bucchero had a grey-black clay, the fragments including an almost complete kantharos, a fragment of a vase and fragments of jugs. The largest group of fragments comprised Italo-

Corinthian wares, whose types of fabrics varied widely from light-brown and buff-yellow to grey-white; the types of objects represented included amphorae, jugs, pyxides, skyphoi, bowls, cups and handles. The domestic objects included two fragments of a sieve, three specimens of spools, five fragments of cooking-stands, a corn-rubber and roof-tiles. The plant remains comprised grains of einkorn (*triticum monococcum*), emmer (*triticum dicoccum*), spelt (*triticum spelta*) and barley, whilst the animal bones included oxen, horses and pigs. Gjerstad has dated the remains from this pozzo to his Period III, i.e. c.700-625 BC., to as late as the early period of the archaic city, i.e. c.575-550 BC.; Bartoli originally assigned the finds to the eighth and seventh centuries BC²⁵., but in his final report reduced them to the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth centuries BC.²⁶

The nature and dating of these finds are both crucial to any determination of both the origins of the cult of Vesta and its arrival in Rome. The objects which were found in the pozzo could belong either to the temple cult or to the domestic life of the Vestals, though the presence of a cooking-stand would suggest the latter. The pottery could also belong to either aspect, and it is possible that the finer Italo-Corinthian ware was used in the temple ritual whilst the coarser local ware was used by the Vestals, though it is equally possible they used the fine ware. The dating of the pottery fragments suggests that some of them were used for a long time, notably the Italo-Corinthian specimens, but the dating of the local pottery to the early part of the sixth century means that the date of deposition

of the whole must belong to this period, which is also the period of the laying out of the Forum area. The temple of Vesta and its associated cult must therefore be one of the earliest, if not the earliest cult to be established in the central area of the archaic city. The round shape of the temple might mean that it was derived from the Iron Age huts which previously occupied the area, and would therefore suggest that it was practised as a domestic cult in the area; however, it is also possible that the shape was derived from Greek examples, as round buildings had a long history there and was a popular shape especially for tombs in this period²⁷. The shape of the temple might therefore be indicative of foreign influence on the cult.

It is clear that, before examining external influences, it is necessary to determine whether Vesta took over the attributes of any deities who existed in the primitive settlements which later coalesced into archaic Rome. The two deities who seem the closest to Vesta were Vulcan and Cacus. The origins of Vulcan are unknown, though he seems to have been Italian rather than Latin or Etruscan, in the latter case because the Etruscans had their own fire-god, named Sethlans²⁸. His altar, the Volcanal, has been identified with an area at the foot of the Capitol, though it is possible that he was worshipped instead in the area of the Lapis Niger²⁹. However, neither situation was inside the boundary of the early city, which suggests that Vulcan was regarded as the god of the destructive power of fire and had therefore to be worshipped outside the city. His festival, the Volcanalia, was held on 23 August, but its associated rites have not been recorded, and he does not appear to have been as important in Rome as he later became

in Ostia. From what little is known about him, Vulcan seems to have represented a totally different aspect of fire than Vesta, as his was the destructive power of the fire rather than the warming and life-giving properties of the hearth. It is therefore doubtful whether Vesta absorbed any facets of his cult. Cacus is even more obscure. According to Virgil³⁰ he was a fire-breathing son of Vulcan who dwelt in a cave on the Aventine and engaged in cattle rustling.

However, he overreached himself when he stole some cattle belonging to Hercules, as the hero tracked down the cattle by their bellowing, tore open the hill and throttled him. Though this legend places him on the Aventine, the existence of the Scala Caci on the Palatine suggests that his origins lie here, in which case he may have been the fire-god of the Palatine community³¹. His description as the son of Vulcan implies that he too represented the destructive power of fire and became identified with Vulcan. Certainly there is no trace of his worship in Classical Rome. Servius, in his commentary on the Aeneid³², claimed that Cacus was betrayed by his sister Caca, who as a reward was given a shrine where sacrifice was offered by the Vestals. This statement makes it possible that Cacus had a female counterpart and both were worshipped on the Palatine, so Caca, as the female half, may have become identified with Vesta. However, Servius is a very late writer, and his claim that Caca was linked with the Vestals cannot be substantiated. The absence of any evidence therefore puts Caca's separate existence in doubt, and she cannot be regarded as positively linked with Vesta.

If a native deity cannot be linked with Vesta, the influences of Etruria and Greece must be evaluated. The question of

the origins of the Etruscans is a vexed one to which no easy solution can be given. There are two theories: the first, based on Herodotus³³, that they came from Lydia in the eighth century or earlier; the second, based on the theories of Dionysius of Halicarnassus³⁴, that they evolved from existing cultures. It is not proposed in this survey to investigate the even more complex question of whether the Etruscans were the same as the Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians, or whether one is dealing with two or even three mythical races; it is a minefield through which the historian picks his way with caution and anyway is not central to the issue under discussion. The central question of whether the Etruscans were foreign or native is, however, important as it has a direct bearing on the problems surrounding the origin and distribution of the cult of Vesta. The main objection to Herodotus's eighth century migration from Lydia is that there is no evidence of a cultural break as would be expected if a foreign minority imposed its culture upon a native majority. Also, it would be probable that such events would have been reflected in the history or mythology of Rome; however, if there were any records, they have not survived. Hencken³⁵ has suggested that if such a migration took place, its most likely time would have been c.1200 BC., when the movements of the "Peoples of the Sea" swept away the Hittite civilisation and came close to overwhelming Egypt. Though a migration during this period is more feasible than a later one, the same lack of evidence argues against it. Archaeological evidence make it clear that the antecedents of the Etruscans were more complex than was at first imagined. The Villanovan culture which inhabited Italy before the Etruscans shows clear evidence

of foreign influence in its ceramics and metalwork. This influence is not confined to one specific area but includes Central European, Greek and Oriental features. Also the predecessors of the Villanovans, the Pre-Villanovans, show clear influences from the Mycenaean world. If the Pre-Villanovan and Villanovan cultures are an offshoot of the urnfield culture of the Danube basin as has been suggested³⁶, and if these cultures represent "the sharpest cultural break between the Apennine Bronze Age and the time when Herodotus wrote"³⁷, it argues strongly that the Etruscans evolved from the existing Villanovan culture which already was prey to foreign influences and which absorbed more later on.

Etruscan religion, which might be supposed to give a better indication of their origins, is no great help either. Our knowledge is extremely scanty and comprises what little classical authors said about it, allied with such archaeological evidence as the Piacenza liver. Moreover, classical authors were more interested in Etruscan books of divination than in Etruscan religion in general, so it is difficult to decide whether extant information relates to early religion or to the religion as it developed under Greek and Roman influence. The principal god, Tinia, seems in some cases to have been identified with Jupiter. He is depicted, sometimes as young and beardless, at other times as bearded and carrying a thunderbolt. Uni, the principal goddess of Veii, who was also mentioned in inscriptions at Cortona and Pyrgi, has been identified with Juno. Other gods and goddesses include Tecum, Lethum and Maris (the last of whom has rather dubiously been identified with the Roman

Mars), Menerva, Culsans, Ceres and Fufluns. Menerva, who was linked with Jupiter and Juno in the Capitoline Triad, has been found at Veii and appears in the gigantomachy on the Temple of Uni at Pyrgi as well as on the frieze of the temple at Poggio Castette at Bolsena. A suggestion has been made that this goddess may have been "Italic" in origin³⁸, but there is no evidence to suggest a non-Etruscan provenance.

In all this uncertainty over the nature of Etruscan religion it is not surprising that no figure directly approximating to Vesta can be discerned in the Etruscan pantheon. It is possible, however, that she may have entered into early Rome as one of the Dei Consentes. The evidence for this theory is, admittedly, much later and is found in the writings of the early fourth century author Arnobius. In the course of the third book of his work "Adversus Gentes"³⁹, and during a discussion of the nature of the Penates he states, with reference to Varro's opinion on the subject:

The Etruscans say that these are the Consentes and Complices, and name them because they rise and fall together, six of them being male and as many female, with unknown names and pitiless dispositions, but they are considered the counsellors and princes of Jove supreme. The Dei Consentes therefore appear to have been very early in date; their portico, situated in the Forum near the Tabularium, was restored by Vettius Agorius Praetextatus in the late fourth century AD., and was the last temple to be so restored. This group of gods and goddesses as Varro said twelve in number, are known to have included

Vesta, and it is known that a gilded statue of her rested in the portico during the Republic; indeed Frazer⁴⁰ has suggested that it was under this statue, rather than outside the temple itself, that Mucius Scaevola was murdered in 82 BC. If, therefore, she entered Rome in this guise during the archaic period, it is possible that she may contain Etruscan as well as Greek elements, though this cannot be proved. During the historical period of Rome the Dei Consentes appear to have been linked with the Twelve Gods of the Homeric pantheon, who included Hestia, but their natures and functions are unclear and cannot be cited as proof of the arrival of Vesta in archaic Rome.

If the evidence regarding Etruscan influence in the cult of Vesta is at best ambivalent, that concerning contacts with Greece and Greek culture is not. According to legend, Greek involvement with Southern Italy occurred at a very early date. Odysseus was supposed to have visited Southern Italy, Sicily and the Lipari Islands whilst Diomedes of Argos was said to have settled in northern Apulia and to have founded Argyrippa, Canusium, Sipontum, Venusia, Venafrum, Beneventum, Equus Tuticus, Lanuvium and Spina. In addition his golden armour was allegedly preserved in the temple of Athena Ilias at Luceria, and he was venerated in many areas of Southern Italy. Other refugees from the Trojan War include Philoctetes, chief of the Thessalians who founded four colonies in Bruttium, Crimisa, Petelia, Chone and Macalla; Menestheus, king of Athens, who founded Scylletion in Bruttium; Schodios and Epistrophos from Phocis who settled at Temesa; and Halesos who founded Falerii. It is probable that none of these legends indicate anything more extensive than casual trading contacts between Greece

and the Italian mainland, and the stories themselves may have only entered Italy during the Greek colonisation. However the most important immigrant from the Roman point of view was Aeneas, who founded Lavinium and whose descendants ultimately founded Rome itself. It seems probable that the character of Aeneas was introduced into Rome via the Etruscans since the earliest evidence for the Aeneas legend on the Italian mainland has been found in vase decoration dating from the last quarter of the sixth century BC. Of 52 vases surviving from this period the provenance of 27 is known, and of these 17 originate from Etruria⁴¹. The reason for his popularity in Etruria is unknown and the date of his introduction is conjectural; however it is clear that the legend only reached Rome after c.525 BC., and then only in the form of Aeneas as warrior and refugee from Troy. The additional qualities venerated by the Romans, such as the rescue of his father and saving of the gods of Troy are later by about two centuries⁴².

The historically and archaeologically attested period of Greek colonisation in the West begins with the foundation by the Euboeans of Pithekoussai on Ischia in about 775 BC., followed by that of Kymai in about 759 BC. In its earliest form Pithekoussai appears to have been more in the nature of an entrepôt, and Strabo⁴³ may therefore be right in regarding Kymai as the first "polis" in the West. Excavations at Pithekoussai have revealed both Corinthian and Euboean pottery at the earliest levels and by the mid-seventh century Corinthian pottery can be found on many sites in Campania. The reasons for the interest of the Greeks in Italy were two-fold; firstly, there was the need to dispose of surplus population; secondly, and more

importantly, there were substantial mineral deposits and a flourishing metal trade which was in existence between the Etruscan cities. It is therefore certain that contact between Greeks and Etruscans dates from the first arrival of the former in Italy. Evidence of Villanovan bronze shields found at Olympia⁴⁴, fibulae of Italian make found in the sanctuaries of mainland Greece and the statement of Pausanias that the first "barbarian" (i.e. non-Greek) to dedicate a shrine was an Etruscan who did so at Olympia⁴⁵ indicate that Italian metal goods were prized by the Greeks and that contact with Etruria must have been eagerly sought and received.

Whilst the existence of Italian metal goods in Greece is indicative of trade in that direction, the amount of Greek pottery, first Euboean, then Corinthian, found on sites in Campania, Latium and Etruria shows that there was a considerable influx of Greek goods, and later of Greek artisans into Italy, which is bound to have had a great effect upon the existing culture. Local styles of pottery imitating Euboean models are found in the Tarquinia-Bisenzio-Vulci region from the late eighth century onwards⁴⁶, i.e. from the earliest period of Greek colonisation, and in other areas local pottery was manufactured which followed, more or less directly, Greek examples. The arrival of the Greek alphabet via Pithekoussai and Kymai also dates from this early period, whilst Etruscan texts contain many borrowed Greek words and names⁴⁷, though representations of Greek legends and heroes in tomb-paintings do not appear until the sixth century BC.

These preliminary and evidently extensive contacts with

Greek culture were strengthened when the Etruscans began to expand southwards in the late seventh century BC. Magna Graecia as a whole shows little evidence of Etruscan influence before this period, but from then on considerable quantities of Etruscan pottery, produced in Capua, appear in Campania. This greater contact with Greek culture is bound to have resulted in its being disseminated more widely through the Etruscan sphere of influence, especially with the arrival in Etruria itself of Greek craftsmen, events which may have been mirrored in the story of Demaratus who fled from Corinth with his craftsmen and settled in Tarquinia⁴⁸. Therefore the statement by Blakeway⁴⁹ that "Rome's subjection to Etruria at this period meant subjection to a people half-Hellenized and in constant contact with Greek influence" is not wide of the mark. Since Rome had come under Etruscan influence by the end of the seventh century it is here, rather than in direct links with the Greek colonies, that contact with Greece is to be sought. This is strengthened by evidence of Greek pottery discovered in Rome. Gjerstad⁵⁰ has recorded 9 examples of Subgeometric, Proto-Corinthian and Middle Protocorinthian forms in his Period III, and a further 7 specimens of East Greek, Late Protocorinthian, Transitional and Early and Middle Corinthian in his Period IV, from 625-575 BC. These small numbers of fragments, contrasted with the large quantities of sherds of locally made pottery, especially of Etruscan provenance, found during excavations, indicates that Rome's trading links with Greece in the early sixth century were not extensive. It is not until the late sixth century that there was any great increase in Greek pottery, and this was

Attic rather than Corinthian, which had led Gjerstad⁵¹ to postulate that Rome was importing directly from Athens rather than through the Greek colonies. However, the period after c.550 BC, saw the rise to pre-eminence of Attic pottery at the expense of Corinthian ware in the Mediterranean world as a whole, so it is equally possible that Rome was importing through Southern Etruria rather than finding new markets.

The major factor which must be taken into account in any consideration of the cult of Vesta is the existence of Hestia, the Greek goddess of the state and private hearth. The cult of Hestia is the obvious source of the cult of Vesta and many Romans thought that the Roman goddess was derived from the Greek one. Cicero, for example, says⁵²:

The name of Vesta is derived from the Greeks, who call her Hestia.

One of the earliest references to Hestia is found in the Theogony of Hesiod⁵³ where she is described as the daughter of Cronos and, therefore, sister of Zeus, a lineage which was subsequently adopted by Roman writers for Vesta⁵⁴.

The Homeric Hymns state that Hestia refused to marry, swearing to remain a virgin, so Zeus made her guardian of the hearth and gave her honours in all the temples of the gods. They also say that among mortal men she was the chief of all goddesses and refer to her being invoked at the beginning and end of prayers⁵⁵. In addition it is stated that Hestia, together with Athene and Artemis, did not love Aphrodite, an allusion probably to the fact that these goddesses who were all virgins would have little in common with the goddess of love⁵⁶. However, despite these and other literary references to her importance, in practice

her position seems to have been less secure. According to Pindar⁵⁷ she seems to have been mainly worshipped in the Prytaneion of the city-state, and there appears to have been a statue dedicated to her in the Prytaneion at Athens, though the building itself was sacred to Athena. At Mantinea she was worshipped in a separate place, while at Syros, Lesbos and Sinope there existed actual cults of Hestia and she was worshipped as "Hestia of the city-hall". Moreover at Naukratis there is evidence of a feast to Hestia which was held annually, probably to celebrate the foundation of the Prytaneion. In addition a number of states offered sacrifices to "Hestia of the Council-hall", which does not necessarily mean that her cult was regularly practised in these areas, and may therefore indicate a more casual acknowledgement of her existence. It is known that it was customary for new colonies to take a flame lit from the city hearth of Hestia⁵⁸, but the evidence does not suggest that a perpetual fire was maintained in all cities or that each colony that was sent out took the sacred fire with it. To complicate the picture it does not seem that every fire was sacred to Hestia. At Delphi and at Argos it was dedicated to Apollo, while at Lykosouria in Arcadia a perpetual fire was maintained in the temple of Pan⁵⁹. Moreover her influence in the council-chamber was not as great as might have been expected; certainly at Athens where there is more evidence than elsewhere, prayers and sacrifices were offered to Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia and she does not seem to have had a statue there. Indeed statues in general seem to have been rare, though she appears to have been depicted as a woman of middle age; certainly she was

not depicted on coins, and apart from some isolated vase representations, she did not figure in Greek art⁶⁰. It therefore appears that the influence of her cult was limited, as was her role in the life of the city. She does not appear to have had a generally recognised festival, unlike Vesta in Rome, and she was not served by a college of priestesses in the mould of the Vestal Virgins. Her fire was generally tended by an old woman no longer living with her husband, while at Naukratis women were totally excluded from the cult. Since her worship consisted solely of maintaining the sacred fire, without any of the other responsibilities which were included in the cult of Vesta (e.g. she does not seem to have guarded "sacred objects" in the same way as Vesta did), it is not surprising that there is no evidence of a private or domestic cult. For such a cult to flourish it is necessary for the deity involved to hold a position of veneration in the state, since in religious matters the observances of the individual and the state are interrelated. However, in the case of Hestia, she does not appear to have been important enough to have been venerated by both state and individual, though it must be said that the lack of any evidence is not conclusive proof of its non-existence.

A further question which must be asked is concerned with the age of the cult of Hestia and how long it might have been established in Greece. Although Hestia herself appears in the eighth century Theogony of Hesiod where she is already being described as the sister of Zeus⁶¹ there is some evidence that a cult of the hearth might have existed during the Mycenaean period. The excavations of the palaces of

Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos have all revealed the presence of a circular hearth in the centre of the megaron which, it has been suggested, was the focus of a cult⁶².

Evidence for this is however of a negative variety; if it was not used for ritual purposes, it is hard to see what purpose it served. Certainly the size of the hearth, especially that at Pylos, is such that it is unlikely to have been used purely for domestic purposes; but at the same time, current understanding of Mycenaean religion does not extend to the position of the king in any cults centred on the megaron⁶³.

It must therefore be said that although evidence from the "Linear B" tablets found at Pylos indicates that the Mycenaeans worshipped such gods as Poseidon, Zeus and Hera⁶⁴, no reference to a goddess approximating to Hestia has been found and, other than its size, there is no suggestion that the hearths in the megarons of the great palaces were used for religious purposes. The question of the age of Hestia must therefore remain undetermined.

Vesta, like Hestia, was not the sort of goddess around whom legends accrued. Ovid only told of one, the attempted seduction by Priapus⁶⁵, and apart from "miracles" relating to the deliverance of Vestals such as Aemilia and Tuccia⁶⁶, she does not appear to have been an intercessor. This means that, unlike the other gods and goddesses of both Greece and Rome, Hestia and Vesta were rather colourless characters, which may explain the paucity of their representations in art and sculpture. Vesta herself appears quite suddenly in the early period of the archaic city of Rome, and there is no evidence either of the cult being practised in this form on the surrounding hills or of her having

absorbed the attributes of existing native gods. There are sufficient similarities between Vesta and Hestia to indicate that the two either shared a common ancestor or that the Roman goddess was derived from the Greek one. Evidence to suggest the former can be shown in the different ways the two goddesses were served and the differences in ritual; the Vestals undertook a number of duties in cults such as the Fordicidia which suggest an agricultural connection which has not been perceived in the cult of Hestia, in Rome the fire of Vesta was kindled by the rubbing together of sticks whereas the fire of Hestia was lit using a glass to reflect the sun's rays and the Roman Vestals have no parallel in Greece. However, there is hardly any evidence that Vesta was worshipped, not merely in Rome, but in other areas of Italy. Whilst Varro⁶⁷ states that she was a Sabine goddess, she might have been introduced to Samnium from Rome; certainly the temple of Vesta at Tivoli is not attested until the late Republic or early empire⁶⁸. Also, whilst the central Italian tribe of the Vestini might appear to have taken their name from Vesta, Altheim has indicated that the origins of the name might lie elsewhere⁶⁹. This lack of evidence therefore points to Vesta having been introduced into Rome from elsewhere, and the most obvious source is the cult of Hestia. Since direct contact between Greece and Rome is not attested archaeologically until the end of the sixth century BC, when Vesta was already established in the Forum, it follows that Greek influence must have entered Rome via the colonies of Southern Italy. It therefore appears that the arrival of Hestia into Rome and her metamorphosis into Vesta dates from the beginning of the

archaic city, and that she was brought there by Greek colonists, either those of Southern Italy or settlers in Etruria. The differences between the practices of the two cults indicate that Hestia was not adopted in toto, and that Vesta must have been adapted to fit the needs of the local, more primitive community. It is possible that Hestia/Vesta was deliberately introduced to act as a focus for the unification of the hill settlements, as her position in the Forum suggests, and it is possible that she arrived as one of the Dei Consentes, though the evidence for this is extremely late and second-hand. To sum up, the archaeological evidence points to Vesta having been a Roman form of Hestia, introduced into Rome by Greek colonists in Southern Italy or Etruria. It is doubtful that she absorbed any Etruscan elements as there does not appear to have been any Etruscan deity which approximated to her. The position of her temple in the Forum suggests that her introduction was a deliberate act aimed at providing a focus for the settlements on the surrounding hills, some of which had already established a political and religious alliance, in order to unify the newly-emerging city of Rome.

II. CLASSICAL SOURCES

Classical authors were unanimous in their view that the cult of Vesta was organised by Numa, though they were less certain whether it had been brought by him to Rome. For instance, Cicero says⁷⁰:

He (Numa) also appointed flamens, Salii and Vestal Virgins, and established all the branches of our religion with the most devout solicitude.

whilst Livy states⁷¹:

In like manner he designated virgins for Vesta's service - a priesthood this, that derived from Alba and so was not unsuited to the founders stock.

and Ovid affirms⁷²:

They say that Rome had forty times celebrated the Parilia when the goddess, Guardian of the Fire, was received in her temple; it was the work of that peaceful king, than whom no man of more god-fearing temper was ever born in Sabine land.

Varro also believed that Vesta had been foreign to Rome, and placed her origins as Sabine⁷³:

Feronia, Minerva, the Novensides are from the Sabines. With slight changes we say the following, also from the same people: Pales, Vesta, Salus, Fortuna, Fons Fides.

However, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, whilst regarding the Vestals as having been instituted by Numa, considered that the cult had been brought to Rome by Romulus⁷⁴:

At any rate, as regards the building of the temple of Vesta, some ascribe it to Romulus, looking upon it as an inconceivable thing that, when a city

was being founded by a man skilled in divination, a public hearth should not have been created first of all, particularly since the founder had been brought up at Alba, where the temple of the goddess had been established from ancient times, and since his mother had been her priestess.

Since he regarded it as essential for a new city to have a public hearth, so reflecting his Greek background where public hearths could be found in several cities, and new colonies, especially those sent out by Athens, took a brand from the public hearth with them, he suggested that Romulus had based the cult upon the curiae⁷⁵:

but having erected a hearth in each of the thirty curiae on which the members sacrificed, he appointed the chiefs of the curiae to be the priests of those hearths....

This appears to be a way, not only of reconciling Romulus with the introduction of Vesta, but also as a way of explaining the importance of the curial organisation in Rome, especially during the Republic. The curiae were also the oldest organisation in the city, and were the bases of the earliest assemblies. They were also the basis for the ceremony of the Argei, in which the Vestals participated.

Plutarch, too, was in two minds as to whether Numa or Romulus was responsible for the introduction of Vesta to Rome. On the one hand he maintains⁷⁶:

Furthermore, it is said that Numa built the temple of Hestia (i.e. Vesta) where the perpetual fire was kept of a circular form....

but he says in another passage⁷⁷:

It is said also that Romulus first introduced the consecration of fire and appointed holy virgins to guard it, called Hestiads (i.e. Vestals).

It is clear, therefore, that Roman mythology regarded Numa as the king who had brought the cult of Vesta from Alba to Rome, but at the same time this raised problems over the role of Romulus in the institution of the cult. It was felt that Romulus should have introduced the goddess from Alba since tradition held that his mother, Rhea Silvia, had been a Vestal; it followed, therefore, that he must have had some connection with the cult. Dionysius of Halicarnassus suggested that Romulus had first introduced the cult but Numa had organised it, while Plutarch put forward both Romulus and Numa but did not express a preference; other Roman writers favoured Numa and did not mention Romulus. Such indecision indicates that the sources from which the later Roman authors drew their material had no clear idea just how and by whose hand Vesta arrived in the city.

The legends which placed Vesta's home as being in Alba Longa connected her with the Aeneas legend, since it was generally believed that she was originally Greek and had been introduced by Aeneas from Troy. The chief account of this is related by Virgil, who tells how Aeneas rescued her statue and fire from the burning city⁷⁸:

So he speaks and in his hands brings forth from the inner shrine the fillets, great Vesta, and the undying fire.

Silius Italicus also subscribed to this origin⁷⁹:

Grant us a resting-place, O Father, whither we may bear at last the ashes and sacred relics of fallen

Troy, with the house of Assaracus and the mysteries of Vesta.

and in the fourth century AD, Prudentius again wrote about her Trojan origin⁸⁰:

To such failings (a serious drought), I feel sure, the land was subject and was spoiled by them, even before the Palladium or Vesta with her fire hid from view kept safe the spirits of the house under a Trojan roof; before Priam's father hired workmen to build his walls, before the maiden Pallas founded her own dear Athens - for it was in these cities, as they tell, that the Vestals fire was first caught from the primal touchwood, and Phrygian or Greek fed the hearths and kept them sacred.

The possession of the Penates and Vesta were important to the Romans as links with their supposed Trojan origins, an importance which increased during the period when Virgil wrote since one of the chief aims of Augustus was to unify the Greek and Roman halves of the Empire following Actium⁸¹. However, these Trojan links can be found as early as Timaeus, who recorded that Lavinium was the first foundation of Aeneas, whilst the Aeneas legend was current in Etruria during the sixth century BC⁸². It is therefore possible that stories of Vesta's Trojan origins date back to the period when Rome was under Etruscan rule, though these links were greatly strengthened by Virgil, whose account became the "official" version of the origins of the cult.

As well as the public cult, reference to the origins of the domestic cult must also be considered. The earliest mention

is made by Cato⁸³ who, after discussing how to make a private sacrifice to Jupiter Dapalis, says in passing:

You may make an offering to Vesta if you wish.

Another reference is made by Ovid⁸⁴:

it used to be the custom of old to sit on long benches in front of the hearth and suppose that the gods were present at table ... Something of olden custom has come down to our time; a clean platter contains the food offered to Vesta.

Virgil also was familiar with a private cult; in the Aeneid he describes Aeneas making a sacrifice to Vesta and the Lares⁸⁵:

So speaking, he rouses the embers of the slumbering fires and with holy wood and full censer humbly worships the Lar of Troy and the shrine of hoary Vesta.

Again in the Georgics he describes a sacrifice to Vesta⁸⁶:

Thrice with clear nectar she sprinkled the glowing hearth- thrice the flame, shooting up to the roof-top, gleamed afresh.

These examples show that the private cult was in existence in the second century BC., and probably even earlier, since Vesta is linked not only with the Lares but with Penates, who had a public cult both at Lavinium and Rome and which were in origin the deities of the domestic store-room. The nature of the Penates and their link with Vesta will be discussed in a later chapter dealing with the private cult, but it should be said here that the public Penates seem to have succumbed to Greek influences, and there is evidence that at Lavinium at least, they were identified with the

Dioscuri⁸⁷. This at least points to the possibility of the Penates, too, having a link with Greece. However, the written evidence to support this, as well as the origins and workings of the domestic cult, is very sparse and so must be used with caution.

To sum up: Vesta was regarded by classical authors as having had her origins in Troy, and she was believed to have been brought to Italy by Aeneas. After the foundation of Rome she had been introduced to the city by either Romulus or Numa, though there was some confusion about which one was responsible. Evidence for the origins of the domestic cult is also lacking, though there is some for its later workings. It must now be decided whether accounts of the introduction of Vesta from Lavinium or Alba Longa accurately reflect her origins having been in one or other of these cities.

III. LAVINIUM AND ALBA LONGA.

The mythological history of Latium before the rise of Rome is dominated by two towns, Lavinium and Alba Longa, and Roman accounts name both as the place from which Vesta was brought. According to Virgil, Aeneas founded Lavinium on his arrival in Italy, naming it after his native-born wife Lavinia, whilst Alba Longa was founded thirty years later by his son Ascanius⁸⁸. However, classical authors were divided over whether Alba Longa attained a pre-eminence which overshadowed Lavinium or whether the older town retained its prestige. Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁸⁹ relates that when Alba had been built, the Penates refused to be moved from their old home at Lavinium to their new temple at

Alba, so that eventually the decision was taken to leave the statues at Lavinium and appoint men from Alba to minister to them. The Penates, along with the Lares, were closely connected with Vesta, and had a temple close to hers in the Forum Romanum, so that it is not surprising to find the (admittedly) late authors Servius⁹⁰ and Macrobius both claiming some sort of presence of Vesta in Lavinium; indeed Macrobius⁹¹ states:

Let the magistrates sacrifice at Lavinium to the Penates and to Vesta together.

This evidence apparently conflicts with the statements of Dionysius⁹² and Livy⁹³ that she originated in Alba, and the divergent evidence has led Alföldi⁹⁴ to suggest that it must relate to a time when both towns were in existence and were of equal or nearly equal status. However, Galinsky⁹⁵ has suggested that this dual tradition reflects the secondary position of Lavinium to Alba in the foundation of Rome, especially since no prominent members of the Lavinian aristocracy appear in Rome, and postulates a political motivation for the city's promotion. This theory, which is linked to the history of the Aeneas legend in Italy, suggests that the legend was promoted in Rome during the Etruscan period, after which it fell into disuse after the expulsion of the kings, and subsequently was revived in the fourth century BC. as a way of forging a link with the colonies of Magna Graecia. During the interim period the Latin tradition, centred upon Alba, became established so that when Aeneas was re-introduced he had to be linked with Lavinium since there was no place for him in the Alban tradition.

This link with Lavinium was strengthened by the custom of the Roman consuls, the dictator, praetors and generals about to depart to their provinces, who were required to sacrifice to the Penates and Vesta at Lavinium both at the beginning and end of their term of office. Servius⁹⁶ claims that the Pontifex Maximus and the Vestals were also required to offer such sacrifices. This practice probably began as the result of a foedus concluded in 338 BC.,⁹⁷ though Roman writers attributed it to Romulus in an attempt to prove its antiquity, and modern writers have suggested that it dates to c.500 BC. when Lavinium was absorbed by Rome⁹⁸; it survived until the reign of Julian, with the bulk of inscriptional evidence dating from the second century BC. The presence of the Penates and Vesta at Lavinium therefore suggests they were introduced later rather than earlier, and their existence in the fourth century BC. was a political move aimed at strengthening Rome's links with her new allies and subjects in central Italy.

An objection to this hypothesis is that if the Penates and Vesta were not introduced before 338 BC. and there were no legends about their presence before then, their introduction now must have meant that Lavinium, rather than being a second-rate city must on the contrary have been very important both in politics and religion: the Romans were not ones to make grand gestures to nonentities. It is also possible that Lavinium provided a balance of power through contacts with Magna Graecia rather than with Rome and Etruria. This suggestion is based on the stylistic evidence of 13 archaic altars discovered at Pratica del Mare, the site of Lavinium, and on numerous votive statuettes unearthed in the area in

recent years. The altars form part of an ancient sanctuary and were constructed of tufa. They were rectangular in shape, with dimensions that ranged from 2.40 - 3.80m, in length and 1.90 - 2.40m. in width, and date from the second half of the sixth century to the first half of the fifth century BC. The style of these altars is similar to Greek stepped altars, since they have a wide staircase across the front, are flanked by antae and face east, though they also contain features which are present in altars discovered in the Sant'Omobono area of Rome. The evidence therefore suggests they were directly influenced by Magna Graecia than Etruria and Rome. The presence of these altars lends strength to the view that Lavinium was at least the equal of Alba Longa and not her inferior, and that the introduction of Vesta and the Penates was a deliberate act by the Romans in order to ally themselves religiously with an important Latin city.

Extant inscriptional evidence for the presence of Vesta at Lavinium is limited to a marble base which in itself raises problems since it is dedicated to the *virgo maior regiae Laurentium*⁹⁹. The precise whereabouts of the early city of Laurentum is unknown but the naming of the Via Laurentina which ran from Rome to Lavinium suggests that the city lay between the two¹⁰⁰, but it has been suggested that it lay near the coast and close to Lavinium¹⁰¹. Virgil seems to indicate that Laurentum and Lavinium were in existence at the same time¹⁰², while Plutarch says that the envoys who were slain by Titus Tatius's retainers came from Laurentum and that Titus himself was murdered in Lavinium¹⁰³. The size of the city and its status are unknown, as is the date

when it ceased to exist, and it is possible that it remained a small settlement distinguished only by a cult centre; it is known, however, that Aeneas was worshipped at Laurentum under the name Pater Indiges and that the consuls and pontifices used to make an annual sacrifice there¹⁰⁴.

The question of the position of Laurentum is also complicated by the existence in later times of other settlements or areas known as Laurentum; for instance the Vicus Augustanus Laurentum, situated 10km. south of Ostia appears to have been founded by Augustus¹⁰⁵, whilst villas with this name were located in this vicinity. The evidence is therefore too vague to give any firm reasons for the reference in the inscription to Laurentum. It is possible that, if Laurentum and Lavinium were close together the latter took over the cults of the former; in this case a cult of Vesta could either have been set up at Laurentum or else the two names became interchangeable, a theory which is suggested by a sentence in Lucan in which he refers to "Laurentinosque penates", by which he presumably means the penates of Lavinium, since earlier in the line he mentions the lares of Alba Longa¹⁰⁶. However, there is no firm evidence to support either of these theories.

The location of Alba Longa has raised many problems since, although it is known to have been somewhere in the vicinity of the Mons Albanus and its lake and the summit of Monte Cavo, there are few adequately detailed descriptions of its site. The most precise description by a classical author is by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who states that Alba Longa was built in the space between the mountain and the lake, so providing it with excellent natural fortifications,

and lay above the plain¹⁰⁷. After careful examination of the ancient and modern evidence, T. H. Ashby¹⁰⁸ concluded that the town had occupied the area later covered by Domitian's villa and now by the town of Castel Gandolfo. Certainly the discoveries of archaic tombs in the vicinity lend support to this theory, even though no remains of the town itself have been unearthed.

Another problem connected with Alba Longa concerns the priesthoods, or more specifically, the existence of the Albani Longani Bovillenses, the people of Alba at Bovillae. Their presence is attested by a dedication to 'Vera Virgo Vestalis maxima arcis Albanae' and her brother C. Dissinus, the 'curator Reipublicae Bovillensium', erected by the decuriones or Augustales of Bovillae and dating from the second century AD.¹⁰⁹. This dedication is not the sole evidence of the presence of the Alban priesthoods at Bovillae, since there are also references to the Pontifices Albani, Pontifex Albanus minor, Salius Albanus, Salius arcis Albanae, Dictator Albanus and the Pontifex et Dictator Albanus.

These titles suggest that at some time either at the same time or later than the destruction of Alba Longa, the Alban priesthoods were moved to Bovillae. It is therefore necessary to investigate at what period this move must have taken place.

The destruction of Alba Longa did not extend to the destruction of the sacred groves; each year the Roman priesthoods, including the Virgo Vestalis maxima, went to Alba to sacrifice, and the Latin festival was carried out under Roman supervision¹¹⁰. Alföldi¹¹¹ has suggested that Bovillae had charge of the Alban cult from a very early period, possibly from before Rome took over their practice. However

this seems very unlikely. Archaeological evidence indicates that Bovillae was a small settlement which only expanded in the early empire, and this expansion was the result of its being the site of the *sacrarium gentis Iuliae*. As the gens Iuliae did not rise to prominence until the first century BC., the removal of the Alban cults is unlikely to have occurred before this period. Another reason for their removal was the destruction of the sacred groves which Cicero in "Pro Milone" ascribed to the demagogue P. Clodius¹¹²:

Hear me, demolished altars of the Albans, partners and coevals of the sacred rites of Rome itself, altars which this frenzied lunatic, hewing down their holy glades and levelling them to the ground, has overwhelmed beneath the vast, preposterous substructures of his mansion.

This villa of Clodius was later incorporated into the imperial villa built by Domitian and known as the "arx Albana"¹¹³. The destruction of the sacred groves would therefore have provided the impetus for the transfer of the Alban priesthoods to Bovillae, then a settlement growing in importance due to the patronage of the Julian gens. The removal to Bovillae will therefore have achieved two aims; the first of ensuring the continuance of the prestigious Alban cults, and the second of linking them to the regime of the emperor. This removal must therefore have included Vesta in their number because of the existence at Bovillae of the inscription to the *Virgo Vestalis Maxima arcis Albanae*.

The question whether Vesta was introduced from Alba Longa or Lavinium shows the divergent nature of the Roman sources

since both towns are favoured. If however Vesta was introduced from either of them the likelihood is that it was from Alba Longa since the establishment of the worship of Vesta at Lavinium is likely to have been a result of the foedus concluded in 338 BC., as a result of which Rome took over the Lavinian cults. It is therefore possible that Vesta was deliberately introduced at this period in order to strengthen the ties between the two cities. In contrast, whilst Alba Longa was destroyed quite early in Rome's history¹¹⁴, it is known that the sacred groves survived until the late Republic when they were destroyed by Clodius. The existence of Alban families at Rome¹¹⁵ again indicates a long and close association with the city, whilst the transfer of the cults to Bovillae after the destruction of the groves suggests they were very highly regarded and their continuance was a matter of importance. However this merely proves that Rome's religious links with Alba Longa were of very long-standing; it does not prove that Vesta was native to the city. In fact it is just as likely that she was introduced by Rome for the same reasons as she could have been introduced to Lavinium, i.e. to bind an old-established city to the up and coming power of Rome and to establish the latter's claim to be among the leaders, if not the leader, of the Latin cities. It must therefore be concluded that Vesta's claims to come from Alba cannot be proved.

IV. MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

The cult of Vesta has been extensively studied in the twentieth century by various scholars who have sought to find parallels with religious practices in primitive cultures existing at the same time, or surviving until the present

day, as well as those practised by Rome's more sophisticated neighbours. In this section it is intended to examine the more important theories and contributions to see whether they shed light on the cult.

The study of Roman religion in general was transformed at the turn of the century by the researches of Sir James Frazer into comparative social and religious practices. First in the *Journal of Philology* (1885), then in his commentary on the *Fasti* of Ovid and his major work, "The Golden Bough", he sought parallels for the institution of the cult of Vesta and the creation of the Vestals. The lynch-pin of his case rests on the Hereroes or Damaras of Damaraland in South-West Africa who maintained a holy fire in the centre of their compound and appointed the eldest unmarried daughter of the king to tend it¹¹⁶. The Hereroes were a nomadic race of Bantu origins who seem to have migrated into the country from the north and east in about the seventeenth century AD. They were a pastoral people who counted their wealth in great herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats and subsisted upon their products; flesh, milk and wool. Their huts were beehive in shape, about ten feet in diameter and consisted of stout branches of which the lower ends were rammed into the ground, while the upper ends were bound together and tied with bark. A village comprised a number of these huts arranged in a circle about the calves pen in the centre and surrounded by an artificial hedge of thorn-bushes. At night the cattle were driven inside the hedge and into the open spaces about the calves' pens.

Herero society was matriarchal in character; the most

important hut in the village belonged to the chief's principal wife, and the chief himself spent his day in this hut and his nights in one of the huts of his other wives. The fire of the community was kept in the centre of the compound from whence each householder fetched a light for his own domestic hearth, whilst at night and during rainy weather it was transferred to the hut of the king's chief wife. In these circumstances it is, perhaps, not surprising that the care of the fire was entrusted to a young woman, the eldest unmarried daughter of the king by his chief wife. Among the functions of this priestess were to sprinkle water on mothers and their new-born children, to sprinkle water on the fattest cattle in the fold and, when the site of the village was moved, to walk at the head of the people and herds carrying a firebrand from the old hearth. When the fire was extinguished by accident or neglect it was re-kindled by means of the friction of two sacred fire-sticks which had been passed down from father to son, and were kept by the chief who acted as chief priest for the tribe. One of these sticks was pointed and the other had a hole in the centre into which the tinder was put; the pointed stick was regarded as male and the stick with the hole as female. The question of the fire-drill, the making of fire, is one which Frazer closely analyses in many different forms and practices¹¹⁷, and which he concludes has overtly sexual overtones. In some cultures both male and female participated in its ritual, in others only men or boys, and in all cases a highly complex ceremonial surrounded it. Frazer regarded the making of fire as symbolic of the union between male and female, and drew parallels

with the method used in the lighting of the fire of Vesta by the Pontifex Maximus and the Virgo Vestalis Maxima if it had been extinguished accidentally.

Frazer also drew analogies between the cult of Vesta and the nuns of St. Brigit at Kildare in Ireland¹¹⁸ and the Virgins of the Sun in the Incan capital of Cuzco. In the former case the sacred fire of the saint was tended by 19 nuns and enclosed within a circle of wooden stakes within which no man might step. He related that the nuns took it in turns to watch the fire each night, but on the twentieth night care was handed over to St. Brigit herself, and the fire left untended. He also suggested that Brigit might have been a Celtic goddess who had originally been either a fire-goddess or a patroness of smiths and whose festival on the day before Candelmas (2 February) suggested a goddess of crops as well, presumably of their planting. In the latter case, the Virgins of the Sun were drawn from all over the Incan empire, and as well as tending the fire, had to weave the clothes for the Inca and his chief wife, to bake their bread and brew their beer¹¹⁹. Like the Vestals they were required to remain chaste and ferocious punishments were exacted if they transgressed. He also briefly examined¹²⁰ other races whose life-style included the preservation of fire: the Andaman Islanders who took with them one or more smouldering logs, wrapped in leaves if the weather was wet, when moving camp; the inhabitants of New Guinea, who carried the smouldering bark or cones of the Banksia tree to kindle their camp fire; the Caingua Indians of Paraguay who kept a fire burning in wood blocks; the Indians of Guiana who carried a large piece of smouldering timber;

and the tribes of Central Africa who kept a burning brand on their hearths. These last examples appear to be no more than a prudent desire to keep in being some source of fire, without which life would have become extremely uncomfortable, and certainly bear no relationship to the highly organised cult of the public hearth found in Rome. It is possible that the cult of Vesta did start in a similar way; however, these origins would have been in a very remote period of the existence of the Latin people, when they were nomadic or semi-nomadic, and to use these other practices as parallels do not give an adequate picture of the cult. It is therefore preferable to look at the more highly organised societies that Frazer cited, to ascertain whether they give any valuable insights into the cult of Vesta.

Of these, the Hereroes and their sacred fire show a number of superficial references to the cult and can, perhaps, be regarded as giving some indication of the development of the cult. Certainly the functions of the priestess do in some measure resemble those of the Vestals. Her status as the eldest unmarried daughter of the chief and her responsibility of keeping the fire burning is reminiscent of the Vestals who were required to remain chaste throughout their period of office and whose legal and religious position in the state led Frazer and others¹²¹ to suggest a regal background. The theory is that since the Pontifex Maximus was their legal guardian and since it is believed¹²² that the Pontifex Maximus had taken over many of the religious duties performed by the king, it therefore follows that the link between Pontifex Maximus and Vestals had originally been father and one or more daughters. This is strengthened by the siting

of the Temple of Vesta and House of the Vestals very close to the Regia in the heart of the Forum. Since these are some of the earliest structures in the archaic city¹²³, their position close to each other suggests the continuance of a link from the pre-urban epoch. The participation of the Vestals in such ceremonies as the Parilia and Fordicidia, with their strong fertility and agricultural overtones also suggests their antecedents can be found in the type of culture that the Hereroes exemplify, i.e. the settled or semi-nomadic existence, and parallels can be drawn with the Hereroes practice of sprinkling water on cattle. However, such parallels are only superficial and may be coincidental. The veneration of the fire by the Hereroes is not of such a degree as the more elaborate ceremonial surrounding the cult of Vesta, and it is dangerous to try to project the cult back into a Herero-type culture, since they and the Romans evolved at different times and in different ways, and it is unlikely that their collective experiences will have been such as to admit to more than a slight similarity between the two. The priestess of the Hereroes was more overtly allied to the fertility of the tribe, as can be seen in the practice of sprinkling new-born babies and their mothers, than the fire of Vesta seems to have been, though Vesta is frequently called "Mother"¹²⁴, so suggesting a link with birth and fertility. However, it is probable that the title was an honorific given to her in recognition of her position as a guardian of the state; certainly the title "Father" was applied to Jupiter and the two were linked together in prayers and invocations¹²⁵. In this case, although the Vestals themselves appear to have links

with aspects and cults of fertility¹²⁶, there is no reason to suppose that "Mother" was an epithet applied to Vesta at an early stage of her evolution. Frazer's other examples, though interesting, also admit to very little similarity between them and the cult of Vesta. Dr Ross has postulated a connection between the Irish goddess Brigit and the Yorkshire goddess Brigantia since both were connected with flocks and herds, so suggesting a pastoral origin¹²⁷. Brigit also appears to have had three forms, linked with art and poetry, which seems to ally her with the triads of mother goddesses common throughout Celtic Gaul and Britain. It is more likely therefore that the Brigit who survived in Ireland was a form of the Celtic triad than exclusively a fire-goddess or a goddess of the hearth. The Daughters of the Sun appear to have had a solar connection since Frazer described how their fire was lit each year by reflecting the sun's rays through a mirror onto timber; however, if the sun was overcast the fire was lit by rubbing two sticks together, an action which was looked upon as a sign of ill-omen and indicated the sun's displeasure with them¹²⁸. Moreover the fire thus kindled burned in the Temple of the Sun at Cuzco as well as in the house of the Daughters of the Sun, who also appear to have been regarded as the wives of the Sun, therefore strengthening their place in solar worship. The nature of the fire-drill does, however, admit of similarities in thought between races, probably because the symbolism is so obvious. That the cult of Vesta utilised this method whilst the cult of Hestia did not (it used to concentrate sunlight by means of metallic mirrors)¹²⁹, argues that in this respect at least, a fairly primitive element had

become attached to the cult. It is quite likely that this was the method used by the Romans for all fire-lighting, and that, though it was superceded in most areas by different methods, the more conservative nature of religion ensured its survival.

To sum up; whilst the pioneering work of Frazer has had a great impact on certain areas of study, e.g. anthropology, its impact upon the study of Roman religion is uneven. Although he is probably right in seeing the fire of Vesta as the descendant of that which burned on the king's hearth, his comparisons with other cultures in widely differing parts of the globe have to be treated with caution. Since by the nature of time and geography, different races have different cultural stimuli, it is simplistic to base an interpretation of one custom on what a totally different tribe might do; not only similarities but differences must also be studied, and this is an aspect which Frazer does not appear to have investigated as thoroughly. Therefore, whilst the fire of Vesta and the institution of the Vestals does bear some resemblance to the practices of the Hereroes, the Daughters of the Sun and the nuns of St. Brigit, these similarities are superficial and do not admit to a common origin or religious theory.

Three other scholars writing in the earlier part of this century have followed Frazer in postulating a domestic and regal origin of the cult. G. Wissowa¹³⁰ observed that Vesta and the Penates were linked together in the domestic cult and postulated that the hearth had originally been tended by the daughters of the household; this structure then became transposed to the public cult, in which Vesta and the Penates were again very closely connected. W. Warde Fowler¹³¹ also

looked to the domestic cult for the origins of Vesta, and pointed out that the duties of the Vestals mirrored the duties performed by the daughters of the house; tending the fire, fetching the water and grinding the grain. The Vestals were under the *patria potestas* of the Pontifex Maximus who, in republican times, represented the legal powers of the king¹³², which argued that in regal times the Vestals had been the daughters of the king. The *aedes Vestae* and its associated store-room was therefore a primitive Latin household, in which all the food preparation and storage was associated with the fire. At one point, Warde Fowler quotes the line "What is home but another word for cooking?" which sums up his theories regarding the private and public cult; that it was an archaic survival which remained unchanged to the end of the fourth century AD. Whilst this is adequate to explain the private cult, it does not explain the intricacies and inconsistencies of the public cult, nor of the festivals which were associated with it. In his emphasis on the central role of the home, Warde Fowler appears to be projecting Victorian ideals back to the Roman period, rather than tackling the nature of the public cult in its archaic context.

The influence of Frazer, Wissowa and Warde Fowler can also be detected in the theories of H. J. Rose¹³³ who held that the Romans believed in a supernatural power or influence called "*numen*", which was possessed by the gods, and could in some cases be held by men or a group of men. *Numen* could also be held by inanimate objects such as an altar, which was touched when swearing an oath because the power contained in it could consolidate the oath sworn. Since the god which exercised this power could be male or female, honorific

titles such as "father" or "mother" were bestowed upon them, these titles referring to the authority conferred by their possession of numen, which these deities held over men, rather than as an indication of function. Such beliefs indicated that the Romans did not personalise their gods in the way that the Greeks did, but at the same time this lack of identity meant the Roman gods retained a sense of mystery and awe which the Greek gods lost. Rose regarded Roman religion as polydaemonism rather than polytheism, a tendency accentuated by the regulation of the cults, which were aimed at doing the right thing at the right time in the right way.

Rose associated Vesta firmly with the Penates¹³⁴, one of the more shadowy groups of Roman gods but one which had a clearly defined function, that of presiding over the food-supplies of the domestic store-room. He regarded her as having firstly a private cult since it was the duty of the housewife to keep the domestic hearth clean and of the daughters of the house to carry out the jobs associated with its everyday maintenance. He therefore believed that the public cult had grown out of the private cult, that the fire of Vesta was the descendant of the king's fire and that the Vestals were originally the king's daughters who had had the responsibility of tending the regal fire¹³⁵. He also believed that the ancestor of the fire of Vesta was to be sought in the remote past, more specifically in a communal fire of the villages which later coalesced into the archaic city¹³⁶. However, this last theory cannot be proved since no evidence has been found of any communal hearth in the Iron Age villages discovered on the surrounding hills, nor can it be proved that a cult of the hearth was practised by

individual families, since remains of huts found on the Palatine do not have any specific area which could be regarded as the hearth. However, as regards the public cult, Rose is probably right in linking it with the king's house. To begin with, the close proximity of the temple to the Regia suggests that the fire of Vesta was attached from an early period to the king's house and such an attachment probably took the form of the king's public hearth. If Vesta was therefore the king's public fire, it follows that its attendant or attendants would have been closely related to the king, and most probably would have been his wife and daughters, represented in later times by the Virgo Vestalis Maxima and the other five Vestals.

Another line of scholarship seeks to link the cult to a common "Indo-European" ancestor and looks to practices in India and Persia to furnish evidence. The most important supporter of an "Indo-European" connection has been G. Dumézil who in a number of books and articles has analysed Indian religious practices and paralleled them with features of Roman religion. The foundation of his theories is a tripartite division of society into the politico/religious aristocracy, the warriors and the cultivators and artisans, mirrored in Indian religion by the Mitra-Varuna, Indra and Masatya triad. This division he regarded as being fundamental to the organisation of Indo-European society, and claims to have found traces of it in Rome in the archaic divisions of the Ramnes, Tities and Luceres¹³⁷.

Dumézil regards the public hearth, which he calls "the fire of public worship", as an integral and extremely important part of the European heritage, and in "Archaic Roman

Religion"¹³⁸ he describes the layout of the fires which were used by the Indians of Vedic times to prepare ground for sacrifice, since they did not build sanctuaries or have fixed places of worship. Two of the fires lay on an east-west axis, the distance between them varying according to the sacrifice, and had distinct purposes and descriptions. One, the garhapatya fire or "fire of the master of the house" represented the sacrificer and his family, and was the fire from which all the other fires were lit. If it was extinguished the ceremony had to be started again, whereas, if one of the others went out they could be re-lit from the garhapatya. It had to be lit from a fire produced by friction, saved from an earlier fire, or taken from the house of a vaisya, was round in shape and variously called "this world" or "the earth" in the liturgies. The other axial fire, placed to the east of the first one was called ahavaniya or "fire of the offerings", and was regarded as the one whose smoke took the offerings to the gods; it was oriented to the cardinal points and was square. The third fire, called daksinagni or the "fire of the right or of the south", was placed south of the axis which joined the garhapatya and the ahavaniya, exactly on the boundary of the sacrificial area, and was so placed to stand guard against attacks from evil spirits.

Dumézil considers that the doctrine of these fires can be detected in the religious practices of Greece and Rome, and was especially marked in the case of the latter. In every place of worship could be found the garhapatya and ahavaniya fires, the former being the altar situated usually in front of a sacred building and the latter being the altar situated

beside it which was used only for the sacrifice¹³⁹. In addition he considers that, in the context of the whole city, the garhapatya fire was represented in Rome by the fire of Vesta. Like the Vedic garhapatya fire, the fire of Vesta was round in shape and, if it went out, it has to be re-lit afresh and not from a fire from another temple. Various rites connected with the aedes Vestae were linked with the concept of the garhapatya fire: the sweeping out of the aedes once a year, the stercus being removed to a pre-determined place mirrored the garhapatya whose location had to be swept out to remove unclean spirits; also the preparation by the Vestals of the muries, the salt which was mixed with the sacred flour to form the mola salsa used for sacrifices echoed the sprinkling with salted water of the area of the garhapatya fire by the officiating priest¹⁴⁰. The ahavaniya fire was represented by the rectangular temples in Rome which, following Indo-European practice, were oriented east to west, whilst the daksinagni fire was represented by the small altar and fire called the Volcanal, which was situated between the Comitium and the Forum¹⁴¹.

Dumézil has tried to analyse the name "Vesta" and find some link with Indo-European names, but his analyses are inconclusive. He also tries to find a link between the custom of placing Vesta at the end of any prayer addressed to more than one divinity and the position of Agni, the Indian deity most approximating to the Roman goddess¹⁴², but concludes that Indo-Europeans were fairly elastic in their placings, since Greece placed Hestia at the beginning, India placed Agni at the beginning or end or both, and the ancient Iranians put Atar at the end, as did the Ossetes, the

descendants of the Scythians.

As well as Indian practices Dumézil refers to aspects of ancient Persian religion to make his case. However, an examination of the role of fire in the religion as established by Zoroaster and as described in the Gathas and the Avesta, also reveals substantial differences from the cult of Vesta. Zoroastrianism became the national religion of Persia in the sixth century BC. and was practised until the fourth century BC. when the country was conquered by Alexander the Great. After this period it re-emerged in the third century AD., only to be finally overthrown by Islam¹⁴³. However, it has recently been suggested that the roots of Zoroastrianism go back to the Bronze Age, and that Zoroaster himself lived sometime between c. 1700 and 1500 BC.¹⁴⁴. Whilst this dating would give a greater antiquity to Zoroastrianism, the traditional date for the life of the Prophet of "258 years before Alexander"¹⁴⁵ suggests that the later date is the more authoritative.

Zoroaster's beliefs were, basically, that there was one supreme God who had created everything spiritual and material, that the world was divided between Truth, which had been created by the Wise Lord Ahura Mazdāh, and the Lie, and that the outward symbol of Truth was the fire, both that which burned on the fire-altar and, in the last days, the judgement of humanity by the ordeal of fire and molten metal¹⁴⁶. There are certain aspects of Zoroaster's cult, e.g. the identification of fire with Truth as compared with that in the RgVeda of Rta with Truth, Righteousness and Order, which suggest that he drew some of his ideas from Indian religion. Moreover, certain figures common to both Indian and pre-Zoroastrian

Persian religion, e.g. Mitra, Varuna and Indra seem to have been absorbed into a circle of gods subordinate to Ahura Mazdāh and known as the "Bounteous Immortals"¹⁴⁷. After Zoroaster's death the fire became identified with one of the "Bounteous Immortals" and became the centre of his religion, due to its power to destroy darkness being symbolic of the power of Truth to destroy the darkness of error.

J. Duchesne-Guillemin¹⁴⁸, who has adopted Dumézil's theories, has depicted an intricate ritual surrounding the use of fire in the Zoroastrian cult. There were various grades of fire, that of the highest grade, the Vahran or Bahrām fire being thought to have the power to attract all the gods. This fire, considered to be the visible symbol of Ahura Mazdāh, was called in some texts the king of fires and was maintained in the first grade temples only. The process of lighting the fire was extremely complicated; in later times the sacred fire of the Parsis, the descendants of the early Zoroastrians who kept alive the ritual, was the product of collecting, purifying and consecrating 16 different kinds of profane fire that had been used for various purposes. The process common to all of them was a series of successive ignitions, varying in number from 35 to 91 according to the kind of fire. The consecration of these fires to form the Bahrām fire entailed at least two priests collecting a portion of each fire and reciting over it the Yasna and Vidēvdat. This was repeated once a day for each purification, and since the rite had to be repeated for all the 16 kinds of fires, it could have taken up to 1128 days to complete, depending on the number of priests involved. The fires thus purified were united at the New Year and, following a final consecration which

took 33 consecutive days, the fire was carried to a fire-temple where it was enthroned in a consecrated chamber and a crown suspended over it¹⁴⁹. These temples were open to everyone from the king downwards for the purpose of prayer or making an offering.

Such a cult is evidently vastly removed from the relatively simple practices of the cult of Vesta and both this and the time factor make it evident that there can have been no direct connection between the two. In Persia, the use of fire as a cultic practice had evidently been highly developed and the ritual involved taken a lot of time and effort. The lighting of lesser fires was obviously less complicated, but they, too, were surrounded by a complex ritual of lightings and re-lightings. The fire of Vesta only had the one lighting and, unlike the Bahrām fire, was kept concealed the temple only being open during the Vestalia, and even then only to women. The presence of cults of fire in Persia Greece and Rome suggests that in the remote past they may have had a common ancestor, but they must have been separated at a very early date for such great differences in their practice to become established. These differences indicate that any comparisons between Zoroastrianism and the cult of Vesta can only be approximate, and that such conclusions that are drawn by Dumézil and his supporters as to the links between them must be treated with caution.

Although Dumézil has erected an imposing framework for his theories, comparisons between the organisation of the cult of Vesta and other ritual fires reveal very few similarities. The comparison of the shape of the fire of Vesta and the garhapatya fire is an attempt to explain why the fire was

held in a round temple; however, the appearance of the temple as it was depicted on later coins shows it to be similar to the shapes of Iron Age huts whose foundations have been found on the Palatine and other hills¹⁵⁰, while Ovid seems to have preserved such a memory of an earlier temple when he says¹⁵¹;

The roof which now gleams with bronze was then green
with thatch, and the walls were woven with tough osiers.
Even so, this does not prevent him, or other authors, making fanciful comparisons with Pythagorean beliefs, so equating Vesta with the earth because they were both round; perhaps the obvious solution seemed too easy to them and they needed to equate Vesta with the earth because of its philosophic overtones. Equally, comparisons with the practices of other cults are rather superficial; the space where the garhapatya fire was laid was swept before the ceremony could begin, but it appears that the stercus which the Vestals removed comprised ash and carbonised remains of sacrifices which was stored in the temple throughout the year and only removed during the Vestalia, after which the new fire was lit. The dust from the garhapatya was thought to contain evil spirits, and does not appear to have had an especial means of disposal, whereas the stercus was removed in a fixed way, so suggesting it was regarded in a different light to the dust from the garhapatya.

There does seem to be an association between the presence of salt in the mola salsa produced by the Vestals and the sprinkling of the site of the garhapatya fire, but the former was mixed with the meal produced by the Vestals from the ears of corn gathered by them between May 7 and 14, and

either baked to form a cake or sprinkled over the sacrifice¹⁵². Mola salsa was used for other sacrifices besides those of the Vestalia, and was therefore used for a different purpose and more widely than the Vedic equivalent, which was merely to purify the site of the fire, and was not used in connection with the sacrifice proper. Dumézil's difficulties in finding etymological links between Vesta and similar deities, as well as his failure to discover a common place in prayer for Vesta and other deities shows therefore that his conclusions do not admit to so close a link as he would like to prove, and that though some practices are similar their purposes and origins may be totally different. As H. J. Rose has so cogently said¹⁵³:

... all conclusions from known custom or belief to those earlier forms which a researcher may postulate as lying behind them are subject to the objection that the reconstruction which is true, for example in India, may be worse than useless when the country to be investigated is Greece, Wales or Italy....

Finally, it is necessary to examine the theories of those scholars who have looked to other areas and tried to throw light on the origins of Vesta. A. Brelich, in his monograph on Vesta, has given an entirely different picture of the cult¹⁵⁴. He rejects the idea that she was solely the hearth and that the public cult grew out of the private one since there is no evidence that the latter preceded the former¹⁵⁵. He also draws attention to the lack of any mythology surrounding the goddess. He stresses that the proximity of the temple of Vesta next to the Regia in the Forum meant that the fire of Vesta could not have been the king's fire¹⁵⁶,

and is very concerned to discover an astrological and astronomical role for the goddess. For instance, he considers that there was a close connection between Vesta and Janus, since the festival of Janus, the Agonium, was celebrated on 9 January, i.e. under Capricorn, which Manilius said was Vesta's sign¹⁵⁷, and 15 days after the winter solstice, whilst the Vestalia on 9 June was 15 days before the summer solstice. This to Brelich signified that the earlier festival was a celebration of the growing strength of the Sun whilst the later one celebrated its fullness¹⁵⁸. Again, the round temple denoted the unbroken horizon which is why it was not inaugurated, since the process of inauguration involved the splitting of the horizon into four quarters. Moreover, this fixation with the cosmic significance of Vesta has led him to suggest that the flour-mill was "cosmic" because of its shape and because the movement of the ass around it was symbolic of the turning of the heavens.

Whilst Brelich's theories are original, they are based on very shaky foundations. To begin with, the absence of any archaeological and literary evidence of the early existence of a private cult is an unreliable guide to its presence in pre-urban and urban Rome, as it might have taken a different form to that which is found later on. The denial of any connection between the Regia and the temple of Vesta overlooks the possibility that the fire of Vesta might have represented the king's public hearth, where state sacrifices would have been made, whereas the king's private hearth in the Regia would have been used by him and his family. Moreover, the theories surrounding the shape of the temple do not take into account the existence of other round temples,

e.g. Mars Ultor which was built by Augustus¹⁵⁹, the Republican temples of the Largo Argentina and the Forum Boarium, and the temple of Hercules Invictus. However it is in his astronomical and astrological theories that Brelich goes really awry. Since the early Romans used lunar rather than solar reckoning it is impossible to visualise the Vestalia being regarded in pre-urban or archaic Rome as the period of the fullness of the sun; moreover, the reference to the beliefs of Manilius brings the connection between Vesta and Capricorn at the latest to early imperial times and at the earliest to the third century BC. when such beliefs began to reach Rome. Therefore to use solar and cosmic theories to explain the early existence of Vesta is anachronistic and misleading. Moreover, it is difficult to fathom a connection between 'cosmic' theories and the shape of the corn-mill, since it had evolved from hand-querns which were also round because this was the most efficient shape for grinding. Such a shape was the most space-saving, especially in the days of donkey-operated mills since they could be packed quite closely together, as can be seen from those examples preserved at Pompeii. In conclusion, it must be said that whilst Brelich's theories are interesting they seem unlikely to be accurate.

P. Lambrechts¹⁶⁰ has also found a different source for Vesta, in his case regarding her, as does Brelich, as a goddess native to Italy, but instead of a hearth goddess he considers her to be a representative of chthonic or underworld deities. Unlike Hestia, who was the goddess of the prytaneion and family hearth, Vesta was essentially a state goddess, and the flame of the family hearth was the province

of the Lares, Penates and Genius only. He links Vesta with Vulcan, whom he considers to be a god of the underworld and points out that in legend Vulcan was the father of Cacus, who was regarded as a daemon and the husband of Caca, who was sometimes associated with Vesta. Also, in the lectisternium of 217 BC. described by Livy¹⁶¹, Vulcan and Vesta shared the same couch, so indicating that the ancients thought they were closely linked. The Vestalia, which took place between 7-15 June was described in the calendars as "dies nefasti et religiosi", which marked them as days set aside for the infernal deities, and Ovid relates¹⁶² that during this period marriages could not be performed; in addition her identification with the earth by Ovid¹⁶³ and others lends weight to her identification as one of the deities of the underworld. The Vestals took part in many ceremonies which were linked with fertility and the underworld, whilst their status as virgins and garb as matrons, as well as their induction into the cult during which they were said to be "captured"¹⁶⁴, all indicated that they served a Roman equivalent of Kore, the virgin bride of Pluto¹⁶⁵. Lambrechts also compares the priesthood of Vesta to that of Jupiter, the Flamen Dialis, who was also said to be "captured" and wore a distinctive style of dress, and concludes that the distinctive forms set the god and goddess apart as the guardians of the Roman state, a function accentuated by the association of the Palladium and other objects with Vesta and the human head said to be buried on the Capitol with Jupiter¹⁶⁶. Finally, he sees the relationship of Vesta and Janus as the attraction of opposites and links Janus with Jupiter and the Sun, through their common

link with the festival of Sol Indigetes on 9 August, so making Janus the principal masculine paternal and solar deity in opposition to Vesta, who was the principal feminine, maternal and underworld goddess¹⁶⁷.

Lambrechts is right in seeing Vesta as one of the guardians of the state, but his view of her as a deity of the underworld appears doubtful since she is never referred to in such terms, and the goddesses of the underworld seem to have been only two in number, Proserpina and Hecate. The private cult indicates that Vesta was worshipped along with the Lares, Penates and Genius, and, indeed, is sometimes identified with the flame of the hearth. There is no concrete evidence to suggest that Vulcan and Vesta were regarded as similar deities, and they were not usually paired together in prayers and sacrifices; as Vulcan was a god of fire in general and Vesta the hearth goddess of home and state, they may have been linked in the lectisternia firstly, because they were both aspects of fire, and secondly, because Greek custom paired Hephaistos and Hestia. There is also no evidence that Vesta was linked with Cacus and Caca, whose existence is anyway infrequently attested, and Bailey¹⁶⁸ has suggested that the relationship of Vulcan to Cacus is a fusion of Greek and Italian myths. Whilst there does seem to have been some link between Janus and Vesta, as evinced by their position at the beginning and end of prayers, it is difficult to see in this any evidence of Janus being a sky-god, especially since his temple, like that of Vesta, was situated in the Forum, which Lambrechts suggests was the home of the gods of the lower regions whilst the Capitol was the home of the celestial gods; the divide between them

represented the division between the two autonomous groups of gods. If this division were correct it would mean that Janus, like Vesta, would be a god of the underworld. Moreover, his suggestion that, during the Gallic invasion, the removal of the sacred objects to Caere and not to the Capitol was because the latter represented the sky and the former were the objects of the underworld, so making them inimical, is rather weak. It is far more likely that the sacred objects were removed to Caere because Rome was on friendly terms with the Etruscan city and it was safer to take them there than to the Capitol which, though well defended might fall; indeed, the story of Camillus shows that help came at the eleventh hour. The problems surrounding the Vestals will be discussed in a later chapter, but it must be said that the garb of the Vestals does not wholly approximate to that of a bride, and any theory that suggests they were the brides of the goddess must take into account the fact that after thirty years they were allowed to leave Vesta's service and marry, which rather throws doubt on the idea that they were brides or wives. Therefore whilst Lambrecht's theories are interesting, there is no concrete evidence to support his contention that Vesta was a goddess of the underworld or that the Vestals were the brides of an infernal deity.

Another theory concerning the origins of Vesta has been advanced by N. De Witt¹⁶⁹ who has attempted to assign to Vesta a role as a fertility goddess. He regards the epithet "Mother" as representing Mother Earth in the guise of a loaf of bread, whilst her veiled appearance signified the covering of the loaf with a bowl during baking, the bowl signifying

the dome of heaven and the fire the flaming ether. He also considers the shape of Vesta's fire to be more important than the fire itself, the round shape, like the loaf, presumably representing Mother Earth, though De Witt does not make this clear. As regards the origins of the goddess he maintains that she was not Italic but "fits best into a very ancient and obsolete topographical complex of which the Sacra Via was a part, originally a processional street leading up to the sacred hill, the Palatian, with the Temple, Atrium and Grove on the one side and the Ara Maxima and Circus Maximus on the other"¹⁷⁰. He does not actually say where Vesta came from, but it is safe to assume that, since he regards Rome as a Phoenician colony, he regards her too as being from those parts, especially as he suggests that the Vestals were originally sacred prostitutes¹⁷¹.

It is difficult to know where to begin in refuting this theory except to say that there is no shred of evidence to indicate that Vesta or Rome was Phoenician in origin, that her veil represented the firmament of heaven, that the honorific title "Mother" indicated any more than her position as one of the guardians of the state, or indeed that the Vestals, who were sworn to chastity had in their earliest form been sacred prostitutes. It is doubtful whether the Romans would have adopted a goddess with the characteristics of Astarte to be a symbol of the continuity of the state, especially since in later times they were notoriously puritanical about introducing orgiastic cults, as is proved by the history of the cults of Bacchus and Cybele.

The plethora of theories that have been advanced to explain the origins of the cult of Vesta can be divided into two

approaches; those of Frazer, Wissowa, Warde Fowler, Rose and Dumézil who have tried to interpret the cult by reference to anthropology and similar religious practices, and those such as Brelich, Lambrechts and De Witt who have looked elsewhere for their theories. Of the two groups, the theories of the first are built on better foundations than those of the second, which sometimes do not appear to have any foundations at all. However, there are limitations to any approach based on a comparison with the practices of other cultures, many of which have existed at different times and in different geographical and social conditions than those which produced the cult of Vesta. Very often similar practices will have had different origins and will have evolved to suit different attitudes: an example is the Virgins of the Sun from the kingdom of the Incas, and the nuns of St. Brigit in Ireland. Though both groups of priestesses were virgins and both tended a fire, there is no further similarity. This being said, there is a tendency in most cultures to attach greater powers and responsibilities to a king, which are extended to cover his family. In this way the fire which burns in the king's hall will be more highly regarded than those of his subjects, and will therefore need to be tended by his blood relations since they too partake of his aura. As the public cult of Vesta is present in the Roman Forum in the sixth century BC. in the position it was always to occupy, i.e. next to the Regia, it is reasonable to suppose that its introduction as a state cult will have taken place during the regal period. A goddess whose hearth represented the continuity of the state would naturally have become attached to the king, since he will have held both regal

and priestly functions (as witness the "rex sacrorum" who is believed to have been a religious descendant of the king) and was the most important person in the state. It is also possible that the king's hearth was divided into two, a public one to serve the community in the person of the new goddess and a private one for use by himself and his family. It would therefore follow that the public fire would be tended by those who tended the private one, i.e. the wife and daughters of the king who later became the Vestals. It is therefore not fanciful to agree with Frazer and his adherents and regard the early cult of Vesta at Rome to be connected with the king and taken over by the state when the monarchy ended, though not necessarily finding parallels with the social and religious practices of other cultures.

V. SUMMARY

Now that an analysis of relevant archaeological and literary evidence and modern theories has been made, it is necessary to summarise their findings and determine, from the weight of evidence, the likely origins of the cult of Vesta.

Archaeology has shown that a temple of Vesta next to the Regia was in existence in the sixth century BC., when the hill settlements coalesced to form the archaic city of Rome and when the Forum was first laid out¹⁷². There is no archaeological evidence for the prior existence of a public or private cult, though this absence of evidence may be misleading and a private cult may have been practised by individual householders in a form which has not survived; certainly those modern theories which are based on examples from other cultures assume that a private cult would have

existed before and together with the public cult. Also, evidence from classical sources¹⁷³ indicates that, by the end of the Republic and possibly earlier, a private cult was in existence. If, therefore, a private hearth-cult was practised before the temple of Vesta was established in the Forum, the public cult as known must have been a later addition. The evidence of articles excavated from the votive deposits and pozzos in and around the temple indicates that the ritual objects associated with the cult were being used in archaic times, which suggests that the cult was, if not fully-formed, then in a recognisable form at a very early period. This therefore presupposes that Vesta evolved elsewhere and was deliberately introduced into the archaic community.

If Vesta was so introduced and did not evolve in Rome the question of where she came from must be asked. Classical authors indicated two sources: Latium itself, either Lavinium or Alba Longa, and before there, from the Greek world, either Greece itself or Troy. These theories are, of course, several centuries after her introduction, and were often written with a political aim; thus the story related by Dionysius of Halicarnassus concerning the abortive attempt to remove the Penates from Lavinium to Alba Longa was probably written to promote the sanctity of the former over the latter. As another example, the story contained in the Aeneid describing the removal by Aeneas of the Penates and Vesta from the defeated city of Troy was intended to stress the Trojan ancestry of the Romans¹⁷⁴. Such stories cannot, therefore, hold as much weight as those statements by scholars such as Cicero¹⁷⁵ who maintained she was the Roman equivalent

of Hestia, and Varro¹⁷⁶ who reckoned she was Sabine. The argument against Varro's theory is similar to those advanced in this chapter against others, that there is no literary or archaeological evidence to suggest a Sabine origin for Vesta; in fact there is no evidence of her worship anywhere else in Italy in the sixth century BC.

If therefore Vesta was not native to Italy she must have been introduced from elsewhere, and here there is an obvious source. The Greek states had worshipped a goddess of the hearth by the name of Hestia from at least the time of Hesiod¹⁷⁷ and had been in the habit of sending a fire-brand from her hearth with their colonies. The earliest Greek colonies in Magna Graecia dated as far back as the eighth century BC., which allows over one hundred years for Vesta to have been introduced into Rome. Moreover, the Greeks traded extensively in Italy, especially with the Etruscans who controlled Latium and Rome. It is therefore likely that the Greek concept of a hearth goddess entered Rome during the seventh century BC. either from the Greek colonies or from traders operating directly with Greece. Of course there are numerous differences between Hestia and Vesta; the Greek goddess appears to have played a fairly small part in religious life, her fire was lit using mirrors rather than by rubbing sticks together, and she was tended by an old woman rather than by young girls. However, like Vesta, her fire was found in the prytaneion, the descendant of the king's hall, and it seems to have been considered as the embodiment of the state since it was sent out with colonies. It is therefore possible that Vesta was introduced into Rome with the politico-religious intention of providing a unifying

focus for the hill settlements a possibility which is strengthened when it is recalled that the temple was one of the earliest structures in the newly laid-out Forum and was next to the king's house, and in the area between the settlements of the Septimontium and the Quirinal. This attachment to the king's house also means that Vesta's hearth was the public hearth of the king, to which all had access, and her priestesses were originally the wives and daughters of the king, the field only widening when the kings were expelled. The close association with the royal house could have resulted in the cults' falling from favour at the end of the regal period; however, by then Vesta's other role, that of unifier and guardian of the archaic city, would have been sufficiently well-established for her to maintain her position and prestige in the republican city.

The only question left to answer is the nature of the relationship between private and public cult. If, as has been suggested above, the private cult was already in existence, it may have been a remnant of a common hearth cult worshipped by the ancestors of the Romans along with the ancestors of the Persians and Indians in whose later religions fire, especially the fire of sacrifice, played a large part. Whether the goddess of this private cult was called Vesta is doubtful seeing that there is a strong link between the name of Vesta and the Greek Hestia, which indicates a direct borrowing of the latter rather than the evolution of the former from an earlier, common ancestor. It is possible that the goddess of the private cult took the name of Vesta when the public cult was introduced into Rome, but

in the absence of any evidence no decision can be made either way. If however, the public cult was deliberately introduced into Rome, it means that the private and public cults were parallel rather than interdependent.

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CHAPTER II

THE VESTAL VIRGINS

Of all the religious institutions of ancient Rome, the order of the Vestal Virgins is the most well-known today. In Rome they held a religious and social position which was unique in the Graeco-Roman world, and survived the longest of the religious orders, having come into existence in the city's remote past and lasting certainly until the end of the fourth century AD. To have existed for so long without changing argues an extraordinary degree of tenacity and also of vigour. During their existence only 23 of their number were tried for unchastity and of these only 20 were convicted (see Appendix I). Their survival is due both to their function as priestesses to one of the most venerated cults in the Roman world and to their presence in a number of the most important ceremonies in the religious calendar.

Ancient writers are unanimous in their view that the Vestal Virgins were introduced into Rome by the second king, Numa Pompilius. There is, however, some confusion as to whether their foundation was contemporary with the establishment of the worship of Vesta in Rome. Ovid¹ states that the foundation of the temple in Rome can be ascribed to Numa, but both Dionysius of Halicarnassus² and Plutarch³ consider that the sacred fire might have been introduced into Rome by Romulus, if only because his mother had been an Alban Vestal. Dionysius, to overcome the problem, suggests that sacred fires were brought to all the curiae in Rome by Romulus, and that later Numa founded the temple in the Forum and provided

it with priestesses. Archaeological evidence cannot tell whether the introduction of Vesta to Rome and the organisation of the Vestals is contemporary, though the possible existence of a priesthood serving the cult at Alba indicates that it might have been. Equally, it cannot precisely date the introduction of the cult, as excavation has shown⁴ that it was established in Rome by the middle of the sixth century BC., and was one of the earliest in the Forum. As regards the number of Vestals at this early period, Plutarch⁵ says that originally four, Gegania, Verenia, Canuleia and Tarpeia were appointed, and that a further two were added by Servius Tullius, so making a total of six. Whilst there is no evidence to support this, it is quite possible that the number was increased at an early stage to cope with increased duties.

Modern theories about the origins of the Vestals link them with the king's fire. Thus Frazer⁶ considers that the situation of the temple of Vesta next to the Regia indicates that the fire of Vesta was originally the fire of the king's hearth. From this it follows that the Vestals themselves were the descendants or the representatives of the king's unmarried daughters who would have been charged with keeping the fire. In support of this theory he gives the example of the Demaras or Hereroes of south-west Africa among whom the task of tending the fire devolved to the king's eldest unmarried daughter or onto the unmarried girl who was next of kin, if he had no unmarried daughters. H. J. Rose⁷ also regards the Vestals as having their origins as the unmarried daughters of the king while Dumézil⁸ acknowledges their link without adopting the theory. A link with royalty has

also been suggested by the close association between Janus and Vesta. If Janus was the god of the pre-urban population, as Gjerstad, for example, maintains⁹, it would follow that this god would have been adopted by the kings of early Rome, and Vesta, as the goddess of the king's hearth, would therefore have had a close association with him. The evidence would therefore seem to support the theory that the position of the temple of Vesta close to the Regia was due to its being a public form of the king's hearth, and that its original attendants were closely related to the king, the obvious candidates being his daughters.

When the new Vestal was chosen, she was taken by the Pontifex Maximus to the Atrium Vestae where her hair was cut and hung on a tree called the capillata which grew near the Atrium¹⁰. Following this ceremony she was robed in the garb of the Vestals. This comprised a garment next to the skin called the 'tunica interior' or 'interula', over which was worn the stola, an ankle-length long-sleeved woollen tunic with a purple border, and on top of this the palla, a large rectangular piece of cloth which was worn like a shawl or cloak and could also be drawn over the head, as can be seen in a fragment from the Ara Pietatis depicting the Vestals at a feast. Her hair was divided into six locks and bound by a woollen strip called a vitta. When sacrificing she also wore the infula, a band of white wool bound several times round the head, covered by a hood called a suffibulum, and wore all-white garments, unlike other sections of the priesthood who wore purple or red¹¹. The Virgo Vestalis Maxima always wore the suffibulum which could be worn open or fastened at the neck with a brooch.

Details of the dress of the Vestals and their manner of wearing it can be seen in the surviving statues and reliefs depicting them. For example, the bust of a Vestal in the Museo Nazionale in Rome (see Appendix 3) is clearly that of a Virgo Vestalis Maxima and may depict her in the act of making a sacrifice. She is shown wearing a stola and palla, the latter fastened at her neck by a brooch. On her head can be seen the infula, topped by a suffibulum which covers her shoulders, while the vittae are clearly shown on each side of her neck. The lower arms are missing, but the left is shown supporting the palla and the right is extended and perhaps held a patella. Details of the stola and palla can also be seen on the 14 statues of the Vestals displayed in the atrium Vestae. Of these statues, all but one are standing and all but two are headless, but an analysis by Van Deman¹² has revealed that 5 are copies of well-known types, representing 4 Greek originals of the fourth century BC., (two of the copies being of one type), of two others undoubted replicas exist, and the remaining 7 are closely allied to the other existing statues, so calling into doubt their worth as originals; however, the headgear and portraits are probably accurate representations. The headless statues show the palla pulled tightly round the body and draped over one or both arms, though the lack of a neck means that any fastening has not been preserved, unlike the bust in the Museo Nazionale. The draping of the palla suggests that normally it was left to hang free from the shoulders and gathered up when the wearer was moving or performing some activity, in order to leave her unencumbered. The two headed statues wear the infula and

suffibulum and on one the vittae are clearly visible; on the other they appear to be taken to the back of the head, and are just visible on the right side only. Both these statues show the palla as unfastened and either closely wound round the body, passed over the right shoulder with the end draped over the left arm, or hanging down the left side, hung round the shoulders, draped across the right side and hung over the left arm.

All these statues show the Virgo Vestalis Maxima in the garb she would wear when sacrificing, but the reliefs from the Palazzo della Cancellaria, now in the Vatican Museums, show a group of Vestals welcoming the Emperor Vespasian to Rome in AD.70 (see Appendix 3)¹³. Whilst the section containing the Vestals is fragmentary, enough remains to show that the group numbered 5 (the sixth would have been left behind to tend the sacred fire), and of these, one is complete. Since she is at the rear of the group, she is probably not the Virgo Vestalis Maxima, who would have been at their head welcoming the Emperor. The interula and stola are clearly visible, as is the palla which is draped closely about the body and hung over her left shoulder; the Vestal next to her is in a fragmentary condition, but has her back clearly towards the spectator, and is shown with her palla draped round her back and extending below her knees. The complete Vestal is not wearing the infula and suffibulum, since the occasion being depicted is not a religious ceremony, so her vittae are clearly visible. The strips are four in number and are closely bound round the hair-line. Each strip ends in the loops of the vittae, of which two are shown, and which appear to be sewn on;

presumably there were two other vittae which have not been shown. The hair appears to be contained within the strips; there is no sign of any having been drawn to the back of the head as might be expected if it were allowed to grow, though the vittae obscure this detail to some extent. The fringe of hair below the strips suggests that it was either taken up under the strips or worn short; it is known that the Vestals wore their hair in six locks, the "sex crines", which must have been tucked under or woven into the vittae, especially as the hair on the crown of the head is waved close to the scalp. This detail can also be seen on the bust in the Museo Nazionale where the hair can be seen to have been parted in the middle and rolled up under the strips.

These examples show that the dress of the Vestals was certainly similar to that worn by the Roman matron throughout her history. However, hairstyles changed considerably during this period since in the Republic women usually drew their hair into a knot at the back of the head and fastened it with a pin, whilst during the Empire this simplicity was replaced by sometimes highly elaborate fashions. The vittae, which started as strips of wool wound round the head enclosing the hair, changed to linen or silk ribbons threaded through the hair or, more luxuriously, fringed with gold or sewn with precious stones¹⁴. The style of the Vestals therefore preserves a very early mode of hairdressing. However, the division of the hair into six locks is stated by Festus¹⁵ to have been worn only by Vestals and brides on their wedding day. This hairstyle could be an archaic survival which, for the same reason was

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worn by brides or it could support the theory that the Vestals were the brides of the goddess, a theory which looks for its proof to the method of choosing the new Vestal.

The Vestals were chosen from girls between the ages of six and ten, and Aulus Gellius¹⁶ gives a long list of criteria which they had to satisfy. They had to have both parents living, had to be free from any bodily impediment or defect, must not have been freed from parental control, neither parents could have been slaves or have engaged in lowly occupations; they were disqualified if a sister had been chosen as a Vestal, if their father was a flamen, an augur, one of the Fifteen in charge of the Sibylline Books, one of the Septem viri or Salii, without residence in Italy or have three children or more. This long list of qualifications and exemptions cannot have been early in date; for example, the exemption of a child from a family of three must date from the time of Augustus, when fathers of three children were given privileges in order to increase the birth-rate among the free-born and hence those eligible for military service. The method used for choosing a Vestal is uncertain but a Papian law whose date is unknown enacted that 20 children should be selected from the people by the Pontifex Maximus, and that the final choice should be made by lot. The selection had an element of "taking" to it; when chosen, the Pontifex Maximus uttered the words "ita te, Amata, capio", and took the child from her father into the patria potestas of the Pontifex. The question of the meaning of the formula, and in particular the word "Amata", has given rise to a number of theories. Ancient

writers either ignored it or suggested, as did Aulus Gellius¹⁷ that Amata was the name of the first Vestal and that all subsequent Vestals were called after her. Setting this aside as sheer guesswork, aimed at explaining something which even ancient writers did not understand, Wissowa¹⁸ has maintained that "Amata" was a form of "amare", with the meaning of "Beloved", whilst May¹⁹ has proposed that it is the past participle of "emere" and meant "to acquire", and Dumézil²⁰ has rejected these theories in favour of an Indo-European solution which links it with titles of affection used in Indian and Iranian fire-cults. However, the theory that the young Vestal was regarded as favoured by the goddess, and therefore "Beloved", though not necessarily the bride of Vesta, is the most probable explanation, given the way in which she was selected. To begin with, as Aulus Gellius makes clear²¹, a candidate for the role of Vestal had to be physically perfect, with no flaws; then, having overcome this first hurdle, the successful candidate had to be chosen by lot. This method ensured that the final choice was random, but it also meant that the goddess could, through the medium of the lot, be deemed to have exercised her choice. The candidate thus selected could therefore be regarded as having been preferred by Vesta and so favoured by the goddess. The theory that the new Vestal was the bride of the goddess has pointed to the method of taking, which resembled that which formed part of the wedding ceremony, in which the bride was forcibly taken from her father; but this may not be as significant as it first appears, since Aulus Gellius²² makes it clear that, not only the Vestals but the Flamen Dialis, the pontifices and the

augurs were also described as being "chosen". It would therefore appear that the ceremony was intended to sever the bond between the Vestal and her family, since henceforth she had no contact with them, joining instead a separate unit comprising her sister Vestals, and may have been intended to emphasise the total break between the child's family life and her new role as a Vestal. There is therefore no need to regard the ceremony as being some form of a sacred marriage between the new Vestal and the goddess, particularly since Vesta was evidently female, and there is no suggestion that, at any earlier period, she was considered to be male.

Whilst the Vestal's appearance showed an amalgamation of the dress of the Roman matron and the bride, this can be contrasted with the chastity which was imposed upon her. Although at first sight chastity appears to be a negative physical state, Frazer²³ has shown that among primitive societies virginity was considered to be a half-way state between fertility and sterility, whilst Rose²⁴ has pointed out that fertility cults were often associated with virginal priests and priestesses, so suggesting that a virgin was regarded as a latent store of sexual power. On the other hand, scholars such as Guizzi²⁵ have tried to explain away the anomaly by postulating that the chastity imposed upon the Vestal was simply the pudicitia of the Roman matron, as evinced by the soberness of appearance and character that both groups were expected to display. However satisfying this theory may be, it does not explain the horror felt by the Romans when a Vestal was convicted of unchastity and the ferocious punishment they exacted for it; this alone suggests that the chastity of the Vestals was something

more than mere soberness of conduct. Recently Mary Beard²⁶ has argued that the ambiguities of their sexual status, cult obligations and privileges was because they fell between several categories of sexuality, and it was this anomaly which made them sacred. She has elaborated this by pointing out that the dichotomy between the matronal and virginal states resulted in the Vestals being on the brink between the two without being one or the other, and this sexual isolation from other women was accentuated by their removal from their family group and entry into a completely separate unit.

Whilst it is true to say that the situation of the Vestals as virgins but at the same time involved in cults which promoted fertility may well have produced an ambiguity which set them aside as sacred by the Romans, it is doubtful whether this ambiguity was so obvious, or indeed so important to the Romans, to inspire the awe and veneration with which they were regarded. Roman writers²⁷ indicate it was their chastity and the service of their goddess, in particular the tending of the sacred fire which marked them out as separate and superior to others in the state. It is therefore necessary to consider how far the status of the Vestals was linked with the sacred fire. Contemporary literature²⁸ shows that the Romans believed that the Vestals had to be chaste because the fire they tended was pure and incorrupt and would be defiled if it came into contact with impurity. Yet at the same time, legends were preserved by them showing that the hearth fire was thought to have procreative powers. Since this dichotomy is the same as that of the Vestals, it would appear that they have taken their duality of func-

tion from the fire they tended. However, some scholars, including Prowse²⁹ have suggested that the dual role of the fire indicates it was a life-force for both the living world and that of the dead, which in turn meant that the Vestals ministered to the spiritual needs of both the living and the dead. Whilst it is true that Vesta was linked with the Penates and Lares, the last of whom may have been ancestor spirits³⁰, this link is more pronounced in the private cult, in which the Vestals were not involved, than in the public cult, and since they were mainly involved in activities relating to agricultural ceremonies, their association with a cult of the dead would appear to be tenuous.

To sum up, the contrasting states of chastity and fertility to be seen in the persons of the Vestals can be explained by their inheritance and the role they were expected to play in Roman religious life. On the one hand, the organisation of the Vestals with the Virgo Vestalis Maxima at their head, and under the patria potestas of the Pontifex Maximus, is reminiscent of the structure of the family and is probably descended from that of the king, i.e. the senior Vestal held the position occupied by the materfamilias whilst the other Vestals represented the unmarried daughters. Their virginity can be regarded as a powerful form of fertility which enabled them to participate in agricultural and other ceremonies without the fear that the fertility of the ceremony could be affected. Their dress was the form worn by all married women, albeit of the simplest kind, and the vittae which marked them out was the earliest type of head-dress; since all women were expected to marry, and most

of them did, it may be misleading to regard their dress as the special preserve of the Roman matron and to consider it as proof of a dual status. This also applies to the method of dressing their hair, which was only practised by them and by brides on their wedding day, since it is possible this was an archaic practice on the part of the Vestals and a traditional one on the part of the bride. Finally, the process of choosing a Vestal is reminiscent of the wedding ceremony in the way the young Vestal was taken from her father, so emphasizing the break between the old life and the new. Moreover, the use of the endearment "Amata" need not necessarily mean "Beloved" as in the sense of the bride of the goddess, but in the sense of having been shown favour by being chosen by Vesta.

The period of service as a Vestal was thirty years, at the end of which they were free to leave the order and marry, though few of them did so. As Plutarch³¹ says:

We are told, however, that few have welcomed the indulgence and those who did so were not happy, but were a prey to repentance and dejection for the rest of their lives, thereby inspiring the rest with superstitious fears, so that until old age and death they remained steadfast in their virginity.

Whether there was a superstition that it was unlucky to leave the order cannot be said, but it is more probable that, after having spent a lifetime in close association with other women, the Vestal would be extremely reluctant to leave the familiarity of the Atrium and her sister Vestals for a totally unfamiliar environment. Why the period of

service of thirty years was chosen is unknown; it cannot have been regarded as the limit of a Vestal's life since Tacitus³² speaks of an Occia who in AD.19 had been Chief Vestal for 37 years, while Junia Torquata was 64 years of age when she became Chief Vestal and Coelia Concordia ruled from AD.225 to 257³³. However, one reason for this length of service may be that if the Vestal was chosen between the age of six and ten, she would have been in her late thirties when her period of service ended, and so past the age of child-bearing. The period of service would therefore have been linked to her fertility, and she would be released only when it was curtailed.

Another reason why so few Vestals left the order may well have been because the privileges outweighed the disadvantages. One result of being free of parental control was that she, unlike other Roman women, was free to make a will and name an heir, a fact that Cicero³⁴ bemoans:

In fact that law (lex Voconia, 169BC.), passed for men's advantage, is full of injustice to women.

For why should a woman not have money of her own?

Why may a Vestal Virgin have an heir, while her mother may not?

Aulus Gellius notes that in addition to this privilege, the Vestals, under an undated "Horatian" law, were allowed to give evidence³⁵, and that like the Flamen Dialis, they were not compelled to take an oath³⁶. The Aedes Vestae was also the depository of wills; for example, Augustus entrusted his will to the Vestals in AD.13³⁷, and they were frequently used as mediators. Caesar's life was saved during the Civil War thanks to the intercession of the Vestals³⁸ and,

during the reign of Claudius, the Chief Vestal, Vibidia, was asked by Messalina (unsuccessfully as it turned out) to intercede on her behalf. The Vestals were also permitted to play a part in the social life of Rome. They were allowed to ride in a special wheeled carriage called a *carpentum* which in imperial times was a privilege granted only to the imperial family. They were also permitted by Augustus³⁹ to occupy special seats towards the front at gladiatorial shows, instead of at the back where most women sat, while Nero allowed them to watch athletics shows by saying that Demeter's priestesses at Olympia were accorded the same privileges. When a Vestal left the Atrium she was accompanied by lictors, a condemned criminal was pardoned if he encountered her, and she was believed to have the power to stop fugitives⁴⁰. When she was sick, she was removed from the Atrium Vestae and entrusted to the care of an elderly relation of high repute, though not to her immediate family. Pliny the Younger⁴¹ has left an account of such an incident:

I am very worried about Fannia's illness. She contracted it while nursing Junia, one of the Vestal Virgins, a duty she undertook voluntarily at first (Junia being a relative of hers) and then by order of the pontiffs. (For when sickness compels the Virgins to leave the hall of Vesta, they are always committed to the care and authority of a married woman).

To Pliny's grief, the illness was fatal. The Vestals were also allowed to own their own horses, as two of the metal discs denoting ownership have shown; one was owned by Calpurnia Praetextata⁴², the other by Flavia Publica⁴³.

These discs indicated that the horses of the Vestals, like those of the imperial family, officials and the Pontifex Maximus, were exempted from the *collato equorum* or compulsory seizure of horses. The disc belonging to Calpurnia Praetextata was found at Prataporcia near Frascati, and would suggest that a villa in the area was part of the property of the Vestals⁴⁴. Finally, they were allowed to be buried within the walls of the city, though the exact place is unknown.

Whilst the privileges accorded to the Vestals were great, those who were convicted of unchastity could expect a ferocious reprisal. The accepted punishment for unchastity was for the erring Vestal to be buried alive, a punishment which has been described by several authors⁴⁵. That the sentence had a great effect upon its spectators can be seen from the highly charged account of Plutarch who describes it in such detail that it has been suggested he witnessed such an execution, probably that of Cornelia during the reign of Domitian. The reason for burying the Vestal alive rather than employing any other form of execution is obscure. Ovid⁴⁶ suggests that it was because the Earth and Vesta were one, and that having contaminated the holy hearth she should be buried in the ground which had been contaminated by her and which, presumably, would cease to be contaminated as a result of this punishment. There is, however, a suggestion of a trial by ordeal; if the Vestal was innocent she could appeal to Vesta who might answer by saving her. That Vesta did not come to the rescue was final proof of the Vestal's guilt. As evidence of this theory is the story of Tuccia, as set down by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who, when accused

of unchastity, appealed to Vesta for aid and then went to the Tiber, drew up water with a sieve, and carried it back to the Forum where she poured it out in front of the pontifices⁴⁷. Unchastity was not the only error which could be committed by a Vestal; equally heinous, but not usually fatal, was to let the fire of Vesta be extinguished. This was regarded by Roman authors as an event rare enough to be chronicled, and became in some epitomes or summaries the sole event of the year⁴⁸. The usual punishment for the careless Vestal was that of a scourging administered by the Pontifex Maximus⁴⁹, after which the fire was re-kindled by rubbing two sticks together.

It cannot be assumed that the only motive for accusing the Vestals of crimes was religious; politics also played their part. This can be seen from the Vestals' trials of 114 and 113 BC. 114 BC. had seen the total destruction of Cato's army in Thrace and this event, combined with a number of supernatural happenings, convinced a great many people that the interpretation of soothsayers who said the Vestals had violated their oaths must be the explanation. Therefore in the December of 114 BC three Vestals, Aemilia, Licinia and Marcia were put on trial before the college of pontiffs, with the result that Aemilia alone was condemned and the other two acquitted. However, public opinion was outraged by the verdict, and at the beginning of 113 BC. the tribune Sex. Peducaeus introduced a measure to censure the pontifex maximus and the college of pontiffs for faulty judgement. Following this a special tribunal headed by the supposedly incorruptible L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla was set up to re-try the case, with the inevitable result that all three

Vestals were condemned. The undercurrents of the case are as disturbing as its outcome. It has been shown⁵⁰ that this particular period saw the growth of the Metellan faction as the supreme force in Roman politics; the three families of the Vestals were the Aemilii, the Licinii Crassi and the Marcii, all three of whom supported the Metelli. The Pontifex Maximus involved was Metellus Delmaticus. Thus it would seem that whilst on one level the two trials were attempts to discover the truth of the allegations, on another level the second trial was an attack on the Metellan faction, and one which did great harm.

The Republic did not enjoy the monopoly of trials of the Vestals in which the motives were murky. The reign of Domitian saw one of the most celebrated condemnations of a Vestal, in this case the Virgo Vestalis Maxima, Cornelia, in Roman history. This had not been the first time in his reign that he had turned his attentions to the Vestals. Some time during the period AD.81-83 three of them, the sisters Oculata and Varronilla were condemned to death for unchastity; then in AD. 89 or 90 Cornelia, who had been acquitted of a similar charge some time before, was condemned without a hearing by the emperor and pontiffs at a meeting on the emperors' Alban estate. Pliny the Younger⁵¹ has left a record of the execution.

Meanwhile Cornelia invoked the aid, now of Vesta, now of the other gods, and amidst many protestations was heard the frequent cry: "How can the Emperor imagine I could have broken my vows when it was I who performed the sacred rites to bring his victories and triumphs..." Whether she was innocent or not, she

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certainly appeared to be so. Moreover, when she was taken down into the famous underground chamber and her robe caught as she descended, as she turned to free it the executioner offered her his hand; but she drew away in disgust and thrust his loathsome touch from her pure and spotless person as if by a last act of chastity....

It is clear from this passage that Pliny himself had strong reservations about her guilt, and opinion is still divided whether or not she was innocent; it is quite probable, however, that in his efforts to cleanse the Vestals, Domitian had condemned an innocent woman. Later on Caracalla also executed Vestals for unchastity⁵²; Dio⁵³ gives the names of four victims, Clodia Laetia, Aurelia Severa, Pomponia Rufina and Cannutia Crescentina, but it is not certain if the information is reliable or whether the incident was based on the life of Domitian. However it is certain that his successor Elagabalus married the Vestal Julia Aquilia Severa⁵⁴ and though he later divorced her, he re-married her before the end of his reign. She survived his reign and died in AD. 225.

The House of the Vestals, or Atrium Vestae, lay adjacent to the Regia and the Temple of Vesta. Originally the name referred to the whole of the precinct which comprised the Temple of Vesta, House of the Vestals, the sacred grove, the domus publica of the Pontifex Maximus and the Regia⁵⁵; however, by the end of the Republic the term covered only the actual house of the Vestals. This was excavated in 1883 and 1899-1902, and the excavations have revealed some traces of the Republican atrium, lying immediately south of the

Temple of Vesta and adjoining the domus publica on the east, with the same north-south orientation. These remains date from the second century BC. and consist of a small court with rooms on the south and west sides⁵⁶. This building was destroyed by fire during the great fire of the reign of Nero and was rebuilt by him; the new building consisted of a trapezoidal enclosure with a central court surrounded by rooms on three sides. This Atrium was considerably damaged by fire during the period of the Flavians and was rebuilt by Domitian who erected a colonnade round the court, with a long shallow piscina in the centre, and entirely rebuilt the west wing. Hadrian built a block of rooms across the east wing and built new back walls on the south, the aim being to diminish the damp that had resulted from his rebuilding of the Domus Tiberiana on the Palatine. These additions linked up with the rest of the house, and a second and third storey was added. Finally, after another fire during the reign of Commodus, the Atrium was restored by Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus. Following this, there were only minor alterations to the building until in AD. 382 it was abandoned by the Vestals as a consequence of the decree of Gratian. The final form of the Atrium comprised a central court surrounded by a colonnade, around which stood numerous statues of Virgines Vestales Maximae on inscribed pedestals.. At the east end was a large hall paved with fine marbles, with three rooms on either side of it; on the south side of the large hall was a small hall with a vaulted ceiling which may have been the penus of the household, while on the north side was a room containing an altar dating from the Republican period. On the south

side of the courtyard there was a group of rooms for household purposes, as well as some finely decorated rooms. At the west end was a group of rooms cut off from the rear of the courtyard which may have served for the cult of the Lares⁵⁷. Since there were at least two storeys above this, it can be seen that the Vestals lived in accommodation which was both spacious and luxurious, albeit rather damp as it was located hard against the Palatine Hill.

The functions of the Vestals can be divided into two categories; those which were immediately concerned with the maintenance of the temple's ritual, and those which were concerned with festivals in the Roman calendar. The first category was primarily concerned with the care of the sacred hearth, which had to be maintained at all times, and was only extinguished during the Vestalia and at the New Year. It has been suggested e.g. by Gjerstad⁵⁸ that the reason for the increase in the number of Vestals from four to six was due to the increase in the number of fire-watching teams from two to three, and it is certainly probable that three shifts of two Vestals each would be required to watch the fire all the time. The other tasks performed by the Vestals were the fetching of water for use in the temple and the preparation of the mola salsa needed in sacrifices. The water was originally gathered from a spring outside the Porta Capena, but by the time of Ovid⁵⁹ and later Juvenal⁶⁰ this practice had fallen into disuse as the area had become the haunt of the poor; Frazer⁶¹ has suggested that the water was then taken from the spring of Juturna which was adjacent to the Atrium Vestae. They were unable to use the city's water supply for sacrifices as they were required to use

water which had not been contaminated by flowing through pipes. The water they collected was carried in a special container, an earthenware vessel called the *vas futtle*⁶² which was broad-topped and narrow-bottomed and could not be set down without overturning, the intention presumably to prevent the holy water from having any contact with the earth. The grain used for the *mola salsa* was gathered by the three senior Vestals on the alternate (probably the odd) days between the Nones and Ides of May. Having gathered the ears of grain they roasted, pounded and ground the grain and used it, as required, mixed with salt which was also specially prepared. According to Festus⁶³ unpurified salt was pounded in a mortar, covered and sealed in a clay pot, and baked in an oven. The resulting cake was cut up with an iron saw and put into a jar of special form which was stored in the *penus*. The ritual that was used by the Vestals is of a primitive nature which would indicate that it evolved early in their history when Rome was still an agricultural community, and preserves the everyday chores that would have been performed by the household. The organisation of the sacrifices performed by the Vestals is imperfectly understood as very little evidence has survived to show how they were carried out. The most important indication of how a sacrifice was organised is to be found on the coinage of the empresses Lucilla, Crispina and Julia Domna dating from the third century AD., which show one taking place outside the Temple of Vesta. Four Vestals are depicted as taking part in the sacrifice, one on the right and three on the left of the altar. The Vestal on the right is sprinkling incense from a container called an *acerra* held

in her left hand, whilst the forwardmost of the group of three holds a plate in her upturned left hand and a simpulum or ladle in her right⁶⁴. The plate probably held the mola salsa, either in cakes or as loose meal for sprinkling on the altar, though the former is more likely since it is known that there were special bakers or fictors who made sacrificial cakes⁶⁵ and several inscriptions set up by the fictores of Vesta have survived⁶⁶. Such scenes however, while confirming that sacrifices took place, do not really show how they were ordered, nor do they explain what is taking place.

The Vestals also had charge of the certain sacred objects which were kept in the innermost recesses of the penus. Ancient writers were unsure of all the contents, though Servius⁶⁷ enumerated seven of them, namely the conical image (acus) of the Mother of the Gods, the earthenware chariot which had been brought from Veii, the ashes of Orestes, the sceptre of Priam, the veil of Ilione, the sacred shields (ancilia) and, most important of all, the Palladium. This last was supposed to be an ancient armed statue of the goddess Minerva which, according to some accounts, fell from heaven in front of the tent of Ilus, grandson of Dardanus and founder of Troy. The way in which this statue arrived in Rome, to be guarded by the Vestals, occasioned numerous stories. The most common Greek one was that it was stolen by Diomedes from Troy and brought to Italy, the Roman one that it was rescued from the sack of Troy by Aeneas and brought to Italy by him. The contradiction of these two accounts resulted in a number of versions to try to reconcile them. In one, it was said that the statue which was kept

in public and stolen by Diomedes was a fake, the real one having been kept in the sanctuary and taken by Aeneas. In another, Diomedes stole the real statue and took it to Italy where he later gave it to Aeneas⁶⁸. However, another story has it being found and brought to Rome in 85BC., when Ilium was destroyed by C. Flavius Fimbria. This last story, though, would make the arrival of the Palladium far too recent to explain the veneration in which the statue was held for, as in Troy, the image was regarded as the pledge and guarantee of the safety of the state by both poets and orators⁶⁹. Other cities in the Roman world, e.g. Argos, Lavinium, Luceria, also claimed to keep the Palladium, and it may be that the fame of the Roman Palladium caused other cities to claim the statue as theirs as well. However, in the case of the Roman Palladium, there appears to be clear evidence, albeit of a late date, that a statue existed. Herodian⁷⁰ describes how, during the fire which destroyed the temple of Vesta in AD.191, the Vestals saved the image from the flames and carried it along the Via Sacra to the emperor's palace for safe-keeping; he says during the course of his narrative, that:

Our generation were the first ones to see it since it had been brought to Italy from Troy.

Then, during the reign of Elagabalus, the emperor took it into his head to enact a marriage between the statue and his own god, so he therefore removed it from the temple of Vesta to the palace. Herodian⁷¹ however, says that the emperor soon tired of the idea and returned the image to the temple, claiming that it was too warlike to be associated with his own god. It would seem, therefore, that a statue of some

kind was kept in the *penus Vestae*, but its identity and antiquity cannot be firmly established.

In addition to the *Palladium* and the other objects kept in the *penus Vestae*, yet other symbols have been thought of as being kept there. In particular Pliny the Elder⁷² claimed that the worship of the god *Fascinus*, the guardian of babies and generals, was entrusted to the Vestals. R.E.A. Palmer⁷³ has suggested that the "*fascinus*" so preserved was the symbol of an obscure phallic deity named *Mutinus Titinus* who, according to a fragmentary entry in *Festus*⁷⁴ was worshipped at a shrine on the *Velian Hill*, whilst the epitome of *Paulus*⁷⁵ indicates that he was worshipped by women. Palmer has suggested that the description of *Paulus* calls to mind the costume worn by the Vestals when sacrificing and therefore the Vestals worshipped the god: however, this statement must be treated with caution. According to Lindsay's edition of *Paulus*, *Mutinus Titinus* had a *sacellum* in Rome:

*cui mulieres velatae togia praetextatis solebant
sacrificare.*

Now in the early period of Rome the *toga praetextata* was indeed worn by women, but by the first century BC. it was worn only by prostitutes⁷⁶. What *Paulus* here seems to be saying is that *Mutinus Titinus* was worshipped not by respectable women and Vestals, but by the lowest strata of Roman society. Palmer further conjectures that the god was removed from his alleyway to make room for the baths of *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* and during the period of the Augustan restoration was identified with the Italian *Liber* and the Greek *Bacchus* and installed in a temple with *Magna Mater*. He considers that *Mutinus Titinus* also became identified with *Priapus* and was worshipped by the Vestals under this

22.

guise during the Vestalia since on 9 June asses, who were regarded as the animals of Priapus, were released from the mills and garlanded with loaves of bread. If the ass was linked with Vesta from a very early period, it does not necessarily follow that there was a link between Mutinus Titinus and Priapus. Ovid⁷⁷ refers in the Fasti to the ass being linked with Vesta because his braying disturbed Priapus when he was preparing to seduce the goddess, but this story is probably intended to explain the link between Vesta and the ass rather than with Priapus. The link with Mutinus Titinus is made more tenuous by the fact that the god is associated with a dove rather than with an ass. If therefore Mutinus Titinus was not worshipped by the Vestals, either at his shrine or in the form of a phallus, it must be asked what, if any, god the phallus represented. It is perfectly possible that the phallus did not represent any one god; it was commonly used as a good luck charm and may have become linked with the Vestals because of their role in ceremonies which promoted fertility.

The festivals of the Roman year in which the Vestals participated can be divided into two groups; the Equus October, Fordicidia and Parilia, which are inter-related, and the Argei, Consualia, Opiconsivia and Bona Dea. The Vestalia itself is distinct from either of these groups as is the New Year Festival on 1 March, when the entrance to the temple of Vesta was wreathed in laurel.

The Equus October, held on 15 October, was a curious festival which combined both agricultural and martial elements. On this day a chariot-race was held in the Campus Martius. At

its conclusion, the near horse of the winning team was sacrificed to Mars by being despatched with a spear. The head was cut off and fought over by men of the Sacra Via and the Subura; if the former won, it was fixed to the wall of the Regia, if the latter won, it was fixed to the Mamilian tower. The tail was cut off and carried to the Regia where it was attached above the hearth⁷⁸. It is stated by Ovid⁷⁹ that the blood of a horse was one of the ingredients handed out by the Vestals for the Parilia, and it has been taken by some⁸⁰ that the blood from the tail alone was collected by the Vestals for the festival; however, the quantities which would have been needed make it doubtful whether the tail would have provided enough, and it is probable that the Vestals collected the blood from the whole carcase. The origins of this festival seem to have been two-fold; the first and probably earlier one was agricultural and was probably a harvest festival, since Frazer and others⁸¹ have shown that the horse was regarded as the representative of the Corn-spirit, whilst the horse-race may have been an elaborate version of the race in pursuit of the representative of the Corn-spirit held in various cultures. The preservation of the head and tail was to promote fertility, as was the collection of the blood for use at the Parilia. The secondary and later origin of the festival is thought to have been a sacrifice to Mars, since on 14 March a horse-race was held in the Campus Martius five days before the official opening of the campaign season, whilst the Equus October was held five days before its end. The proximity of the races to the beginning and end of the campaign season led Wissowa to believe that the Equus October was primarily

a war ceremony, whilst Dumézil⁸² although accepting the theory extended it by connecting it with the Vedic sacrifice of a horse, the asvamedha, but the prominence of fertility overtones, which involved the Vestals, suggest that these were just as important, if not more so, than the martial aspect.

The second of the fertility ceremonies in which the Vestals participated was the Fordicidia, held on 15 April. It was regarded by Warde Fowler as "one of the oldest sacrificial rites in the Roman religion", and consisted of the slaughter of pregnant cows, one in the Capitol and one in each of the thirty curiae, as a sacrifice to Tellus. The unborn calves were torn from their mothers by the attendants of the Virgo Vestalis Maxima and burnt, their ashes being kept by the Vestals for use in the Parilia a few days later. The antiquity of the ceremony can be seen from its roots in the curial division of the city, and was obviously aimed at the promotion of fertility in crops and animals; such a sacrifice was not common in the ancient world, but Dumézil has drawn attention to a similar Indian practice called astapadi⁸³. The Parilia, which was celebrated on 21 April, seems to have had the same purpose. Rose⁸⁴ has pointed out that the date of the festival is significant since April was the month when sheep were traditionally herded out to spring pastures. Dumézil⁸⁵ has suggested more precisely that it was the smaller animals who were concerned with the festival as there was a similar one later in the Roman calendar, on 7 July, for larger animals. However, both festivals were aimed at protecting the wellbeing and fertility of the herds. The Parilia itself had both an urban and a rural ceremony, as

Ovid⁸⁶, describes. In the rural ceremony the sheep-fold was decorated with boughs and the gate by a wreath, the sheep were purified by sweeping the fold and driving the flocks through a fire, after which a bowl of milk and heated wine was drunk and the drinker himself jumped over the fire, and a sacrifice then made to Pales. In the urban ceremony the day was also celebrated as the birthday of Rome, and the Vestals' involvement was the mixing of the blood of the Equus October with the ashes of the unborn calves of the Fordicidia, and the handing out of the mixture to the participants, who threw it onto heaps of burning bean-straw and then leapt through the smoke. The purpose of both the rural and urban ceremonies was evidently to purify both animals and men, and to ward off any evil. The fact that the Vestals were associated with the urban rite is indicative not only of the power that resided in their virginity, a kind of "latent fertility" that provided an intermediary between the elements of purification and those to be purified but also of the antiquity of their order, since by its very nature, the ceremony must have provided a link between the agricultural life of the village and the town which later replaced it.

The most important, and enigmatic, of the other ceremonies in which the Vestals participated was that of the Argei. On a day in the middle of May the pontifices and magistrates took certain bundles of rushes, or puppets called Argei, from chapels or sacella dotted round the city, and carried them to the *pons sublicius* where the Vestals threw them into the Tiber. There have been many explanations, both ancient and modern, for the meaning of the rite, as well as a great

deal of uncertainty about its date and the number of puppets involved. Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁸⁷ considers that it was instituted by Hercules as an alternative to human sacrifice, an explanation which was also adopted by Festus⁸⁸, Ovid⁸⁹ and Plutarch⁹⁰, and which is related to the ancient proverb, mentioned by Ovid, "Sexagenarios de ponte". As for the date, Ovid regarded it as having fallen on 14 May, while Dionysius placed it on the following day⁹¹. Frazer considered that Ovid was the better-informed in this matter, and that the ceremony took place, most unusually, on an even date⁹². The number of the puppets cast into the Tiber varies from 24 in one reading of Varro, 27 in an alternative version, and 30 in Dionysius, depending on whether there were six sacella in each of the four Servian regions, one in each of the local divisions of the city, or one in each curia. Frazer⁹³ would favour 27, partly because Varro can be regarded as a more reliable witness than Dionysius, and partly because the number 27, a multiple of three, had significance in both Greek and Roman ritual. Moreover, the purpose of the ceremony is also a matter of conjecture. Warde Fowler⁹⁴ has considered that it was both a spell to ensure rain during the following year and as a purification, his proof being the participation of the Vestals and the Flaminica Dialis. On the other hand Wissowa has denied the antiquity of the ceremony, and suggested that it was instituted no earlier than the third century BC., probably between the First and Second Punic Wars, and was originally a human sacrifice for which puppets were later substituted. Frazer⁹⁵ has rejected this theory and suggested either that it represented the removal of the spirits of evil from the

city by casting them into the Tiber, or alternatively, that it was an offering to the river-god to appease his anger at having a bridge, the *pons sublicius*, built across the river. However Rose⁹⁶ has followed Mannhardt in regarding it as a ceremony representing the dying spirit of vegetation who was thrown into the river at the beginning of summer to invigorate it, while Palmer⁹⁷ has dismissed all mythological explanations and suggested that the puppets were the thatching material from the *sacella* in each of the thirty *curiae*. This last and most prosaic explanation seems the most unlikely of all, especially since it does not explain the presence of the *Flaminica Dialis* and the *Vestals*. Rose's vegetation theory also seems unlikely since May is rather late in the year to invigorate a vegetation spirit, while Wissowa's theory can be ruled out, firstly because the puzzlement exhibited by ancient writers when describing the ceremony indicates that its origins were very remote and obscure, and secondly, because so recent and, to Roman minds, horrifying an event as a human sacrifice no earlier than the First Punic War would have been recorded. Certainly the sacrifice of two Gauls and two Greeks following the disaster at Cannae is well attested. The significant element in the ceremony is the presence of the *Vestals* and the *Flaminica Dialis*, which would lend support to Frazer's theory of expulsion of evil spirits from the city, especially since the puppets appear to have been laid up in the *sacella* for about two months before they were thrown into the river. Frazer gives examples of such expulsions from other cultures⁹⁸, and points out that the *Argei* took place on the day after the

three days of the Lemuria, the festival at which the ghosts visited the houses of their descendants and were then formally expelled by them. He therefore sees the Argei as the public version of the private expulsion. The involvement of the Vestals, who were believed to cast the puppets into the Tiber, may again be linked to the purity of their persons, as only the most pure would be allowed to come into contact with the evil deposited in the figures. Such a reason must also be responsible for the presence of the Flaminica Dialis, since on this day she was required to lay aside her usual dress and appear instead in mourning, with uncombed hair. As she was also required to do this during the Vestalia, it may be that this represents a form of purification to enable her to participate in the ceremony along with the Vestals. Finally, it is necessary to consider the age of the ceremony and explain its absence from the calendars. Rose has suggested that this discrepancy was due to the rite not having been finalised until the third century BC., at which time the central religious authorities took over a very old rite which up to then had not been performed by a regular priesthood, which resulted in "... generally the transformation of a sort of Jack-in-the-green performance of rustics into the orderly ritual which Roman piety loved."⁹⁹ Palmer¹⁰⁰ too has considered the problem and comes to a different solution to that proposed by Rose. He regards the list of sacella set down by Varro as being the vestiges of four processional routes to sacred areas once used by each curia for taking auspices, and the regions to have been associated with the augurs, who in early Rome were four in number. He therefore suggests that the

procession was derived from the books of the augurs, who each followed a fixed route to the shrines in their region. Certainly if the ceremony was not finalised until the third century BC., it would explain its absence from the calendars, and such a late date would also explain why it seemed so mysterious to Roman authors, being as it was rationalised from earlier, more minor rites.

As well as these festivals, the Vestals were involved in the Consualia and the Bona Dea. The Consualia, which took place on 21 August, has been described as a harvest festival¹⁰¹, and would seem to be a suitable one for the Vestals to participate in, given the agricultural nature of the Parilia and Fordicidia in which they played a large part. The only reference to their involvement is a passage in Tertullian¹⁰² which says that the sacrifice was performed at an underground altar in the Campus Martius by the Flamen Quirinalis in the presence of the Vestals; after the sacrifice there were horse and chariot races, and horses and asses were garlanded and allowed to rest. Scullard¹⁰³ suggests the animals were rested because their summer labours were ended, but it is interesting that asses as well as horses, (who were associated with Consus) were so treated, as it is possible they benefitted in this dispensation due to their association with Vesta. The association between the Flamen Quirinalis and the Vestals is attested in the story of the evacuation of the Vestals from the city when it was threatened by the Gauls and again links the Vestals with the earliest period of Roman history, since Quirinus was one the early gods of Rome. Following this, on 25 August, the Vestals were present

at the ritual of the Opiconsivia, held in the Regia. The nature of Ops Consiva is obscure, and the only reference to the ritual appears in Varro¹⁰⁴. Warde Fowler¹⁰⁵ and Scullard¹⁰⁶ have suggested that she was a goddess connected with agriculture and that the ceremony was connected with the penus of the family, so explaining the presence of the Vestals. The festival of Bona Dea is again vague. She appears to have had a temple on the Aventine¹⁰⁷ which Ovid states was dedicated by Claudia, a Vestal virgin, though this is uncorroborated, and her cult was celebrated by women only. It would appear from the exclusion of men, that she was an earth-goddess and thus a protective deity of women. Her festival was held on the night of 3-4 December, though it may have been a moveable feast¹⁰⁸, and was held in the house of a consul or praetor, who had to absent himself for the night, rather than in her temple. What the rites of the ceremony consisted of are unknown, and it is best remembered today as the occasion when in 63 BC. Publius Clodius disguised himself as a woman and gate-crashed the festival which that year was being held, in the presence of all high-born ladies, including the Vestals, in the house of one of the praetors, C. Julius Caesar.

The most important festival in the Vestal's year was, naturally enough, the Vestalia, which began on 7 June when the Temple of Vesta was thrown open to all women, until 15 June when it was swept, the refuse or stercus being taken away and either thrown into the Tiber or deposited in an alley near the Capitol¹⁰⁹. When this was completed, the temple was again closed. Ovid relates how, when going down the Nova Via to

the Forum during the Vestalia, he encountered a woman proceeding barefoot, which has led Frazer¹¹⁰ to suggest that it was customary during the festival for women to go barefoot to the temple, taking food and other offerings. It is probable that this was the only time during the year when women could enter the temple, but even then they could not enter the *penus Vestae*, which remained closed throughout. The nature of the refuse taken from the temple has aroused some comment since the word used by Roman authors is "stercus", properly translated as "dung", and the entry in the Roman calendars for the final day of the Vestalia was "Quando stercus delatum fas". The word "stercus" appears to be a strange one to use in connection with the sweepings from the temple and it has been suggested¹¹¹ that it refers to the remains of the offerings deposited in the temple during the festival, rather than to everyday refuse. However, since it is possible that the everyday refuse would have been stored in the temple until the time for its ceremonial removal, it is likely that both this and the refuse from the festival was removed together. The word "stercus" might therefore be an archaic survival rather than its literal meaning. Another feature of the festival was that it was one of the occasions when the *Flaminica Dialis* had to dress in mourning with her hair uncombed, so indicating that it was regarded as "dies nefastus". (The Vestals had a close relationship to the *Flamen* and the *Flaminica Dialis* which may be explained as a survival from regal times as the *Flamen Dialis* seems to have been a successor, in religious terms, to the king¹¹². His association with the Vestals can therefore be regarded as a reflection of the relationship of the early Vestals to the

early kings.) Since the entire period of the Vestalia was considered to be "nefasti" it would suggest that it was considered to be unlucky for the temple to be opening, which could be linked to the belief that, in normal circumstances, no-one should enter it. The "dies nefasti" would therefore indicate a suspension of normal rules, which ceased when the temple was swept and closed at the end of the festival.

The most obvious feature of the festivals in which the Vestals participated (apart from the Vestalia), is that they all had their roots in ceremonies which must have pre-dated the establishment of the urban community of Rome. They were concerned with agriculture, the purifying of the flocks before they were driven out to their summer pasture, the sacrifice of pregnant cows to ensure that both crops and animals were fertile for the coming year, and ceremonies to celebrate the harvest and the storage of crops in the household store-room. The presence of the Vestals in all of these must therefore mean that their predecessors must also have played a role in them. If their presence originally was as the royal daughters who tended the hearth and who, because of their social position were called upon to play a part in the ceremonies, their continued presence, when all links with kingship were severed, must indicate that either they retained it by tradition or else certain qualities attached to their persons which necessitated their attendance. The most obvious quality was their vow of virginity which gave them an intermediate position between fertility and sterility. As such, they would be the strongest people to hold and administer those ingredients of fertility, the blood of the Equus October

and the ashes of the calves from the Fordicidia, and would explain their presence at the Consualia and the Opiconsivia. The festivals of Bona Dea and the Argei, however, are different and require different explanations. The name of the Bona Dea, the "Good Goddess" indicates she belonged to that rather shadowy group of nature and earth goddesses which exist in most cultures, as does her worship by women only. It is therefore probable that the Vestals were present at her festival primarily because they were the most important group of priestesses in the Roman state. As for the Argei, if it is accepted that it represented the expulsion of the ghosts of the state from the city, then only the purest might be called upon to hold the vessels in which the evil was contained. Since the purest in the city were the Vestals, it must therefore follow that they would be the most appropriate agents of expulsion.

That the Vestal Virgins were venerated in the Roman world is evident from the poetry and prose written about them. They were regarded as the guardians of the safety of the State, not only because they tended the State hearth, but because of the power that resided in their persons, through their vow of chastity. There is no doubt that their chastity was linked in the popular mind with the welfare of the State since there are a number of occasions in Roman history when a disastrous military failure was followed by the prosecution of one or more Vestals. Whether they were guilty is hard to say; it is probable that in more relaxed periods they would be induced to commit indiscretions, and, as with any rigidly disciplined order, there would have been those who would chafe

under their restrictions. An example of this is the trial of Postumia by the pontiffs which is described by Livy¹¹³; she was acquitted but reprimanded and warned by the Pontifex Maximus to act with more propriety and not to dress with an eye to fashion. Evidently the pontiffs equated, probably correctly, freedom of dress with future moral laxity. Why chastity was insisted upon in tending the sacred hearth is not difficult to perceive. Fire is universally regarded as a cleansing and purifying force, and there are examples from folk-lore¹¹⁴ of a belief that anyone who was defiled should not approach it. Equally, it is probable that the Vestals were descended from the daughters of the king, as in other cultures the king's unmarried daughters had the responsibility of tending the king's hearth, which would have been the focal point of a village or town. When the Vestals as such came into existence is unknown, but it cannot have been any later than the sixth century BC. when remains of the temple cult are found in the Forum valley. This date makes them one of the oldest religious orders in Ancient Rome, and since they survived until the fourth century AD., one of the most long-lived. The reasons for the length of time the order existed without change must be viewed in the light of the life the Vestals lived. Appendix 2 shows the main events of the Vestals' religious year and makes plain that they were spread throughout the year. In addition there was the task of tending the sacred hearth, fetching water and preparing mola salsa. Since all six Vestals would have been involved in these tasks, the workload would not have been impossibly arduous. The size of the Atrium Vestae would suggest the presence of a large number of attendants and slaves to minister

to the needs of the Vestals, which would point to a certain amount of leisure for off-duty priestesses. It is legitimate to compare the life to that of a small convent in the Middle Ages, with the proviso that the influence and independence of the Vestals was far greater. They were not a completely enclosed order since they were permitted to engage in the social life of Rome to a certain extent, and were frequently consulted for their influence to be used in seeking political or religious appointments¹¹⁵. They were also wealthy in their own right since they were given large sums of money when they entered the order. It is not surprising that so few left at the expiry of their thirty years of service as after spending most of their lives in the service of Vesta, they would not welcome translation to a totally unfamiliar mode of existence. Also, since there were only six of them at any one time, and since they would all have been of different ages, the youngest would have been regarded by the others as surrogate children, and so would have formed a close-knit family unit. Though at some periods notably at the end of the Republic, candidates were difficult to find (not surprisingly, since to the Roman aristocracy the removal of a daughter was tantamount to a lost political alliance), their prestige increased during the Empire and especially during the third century AD. when they were described as "a diis electa"¹¹⁶ and increasingly fulsome tributes were paid to them. However, with the rise and eventual triumph of Christianity their influence declined and they were regarded as a diabolic reflection of the Christian nun. The 360s also may have seen the defection of a Vestal to Christianity since a "Vestal Claudia" who became a Christian is mentioned by contemporary

authors¹¹⁷, and the existence of a mutilated pedestal from the Atrium Vestae¹¹⁸ tends to support this. However, the last reference to a Vestal is found in the pages of Zosimus¹¹⁹ who relates how Serena, the niece of Theodosius, entered the temple and took a necklace from a statue of the goddess which she placed round her own neck:

And when an old woman, the last of the Vestal Virgins, upbraided this impiety to her face, she mocked her and ordered her attendants to eject her.

That the last priestess should defend the cult of Vesta to the end is a fitting tribute to their devotion and the service they performed for a thousand years.

APPENDIX 1

VESTAL VIRGINS ACCUSED OR CONVICTED OF UNCHASTITY

1.	Pinaria	Reign of Tarquin	D.H. III. 67
2.	Oppia	484-483 BC.	Livy II. 42
3.	Popilia	c.479 BC.	Oros. II. 8
4.	Urbina	471 BC.	D.H. IX. 40
5.	Minucia	337 BC.	Livy VIII. 15
6.	Sextilia	273 BC.	Oros. IV. 3
7.	Caparronia	266 BC.	Oros. IV. 5
8.	Opimia)	216 BC.	Livy XXII. 57
)		
9.	Floronia)		
)		
10.	Aemilia)	114-113 BC.	Plut. Q.R. 83
)		
11.	Licina)		
)		
12.	Marcia)		
13.	Oculata)	AD. 81-83	Suet. Domitian 8.3
)		
14.	Oculata)		
)		
15.	Varronilla)		
16.	Cornelia	A.D. 89-90	Plin. Ep. IV. 1
17.	Clodia Laeta)The reign of)Caracalla	Dio (Exc. Val. 77.11.1. 1-3)
18.	Aurelia Severa		
19.	Pomponia Rufina		
)		
20.	Cannutia Crescentina)		

APPENDIX 2

DUTIES PERFORMED BY THE VESTALS DURING THE RELIGIOUS YEAR

MARCH	1.	New Years Day
APRIL	15.	Fordicidia
	21.	Parilia
MAY	7-13	Gathering of grain for mola salsa
	14.	Argei
JUNE	7-15	Vestalia
AUGUST	21.	Consualia
	25.	Opiconsivia
OCTOBER	15.	Equus October
DECEMBER	3-4	Bona Dea

APPENDIX 3

STATUES OF VESTAL VIRGINS



Statue of a Vestal Virgin in the Museo Nazionale, Rome, showing the Vestal garbed for sacrifice.

Relief of a Vestal in the Museo Gregorio Profano showing the vittae; the infula and suffibulum are not being worn.



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40. See Appendix II no. 165
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42. See Appendix I no.23
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CHAPTER III

THE PRIVATE CULT OF VESTA

Vesta was not only a goddess of the state cult of Rome, but was also worshipped in the home, along with the Lares and Penates, and was a deity favoured by the baking trade. It is therefore necessary to ascertain how important she was in household worship, what was her relationship with the Lares and Penates, and why she should have been marked out for special favour by commercial bakers.

I. THE PRESENCE OF VESTA IN THE DOMESTIC CULT.

Whilst there are numerous references in classical works to the influence of Vesta in the public cult of Rome, there are very few to the existence of a private cult. The earliest author to mention Vesta in her private role would appear to be Cato in his treatise on agriculture when, after detailing the means by which an offering to Jupiter Dapalis could be made, adds¹:

You may make an offering to Vesta if you wish.

In the first century BC. there are several references to the domestic cult. Cicero refers to Vesta in a passage in "De Natura Deorum" which also links her with Hestia²:

The name of Vesta is derived from the Greeks who call her Hestia. This is the goddess who presides over our hearths and altars. We always make our last prayers and sacrifices to this goddess, who is the guardian of our most private lives.

whilst Ovid alludes to the domestic worship of Vesta as an aside when describing the worship of Vacuna. After discussing

the position of Vesta in the vestibule, and suggesting that this was where the area of the house derived its name, he says how in earlier days benches had been placed in front of the hearth in order to worship the gods³:

Something of olden custom has come down to our time; a clean platter contains the food offered to Vesta.

The suggestion here is clearly that Vesta was offered food from the family meal, though the form of sacrifice is not discussed. This could be for two reasons; either the sacrifice did not take any particular form, or else it did, but was so well known that it did not need to be detailed. The reference to the vestibule is also curious, as Vesta was more closely associated with the atrium; as he then goes on to talk about the hearth fire and the domestic sacrifice carried out there, which places that action in the atrium since the dining area would be found here rather than in the vestibule, it suggests that Ovid was seeking an etymological explanation rather than stating a fact.

A further reference to the domestic cult can be found in the Aeneid of Virgil. When Aeneas has been visited by the shade of Anchises and advised to continue his voyage to Latium⁴;

So speaking, he rouses the embers of the slumbering fires, and with holy meal and full censer humbly worships the Lar of Troy and the shrine of Hoary Vesta.

One hundred years later, a further reference to domestic worship of Vesta is to be found in the works of Silius Italicus⁵:

Long ago Marus had served under Regulus, and the ear of Fame had heard of his prowess. Now he came forth, holding up a light he had kindled at the poor hearth where he had worshipped Vesta.

Scanty as these references are, they show that the Romans were aware of, and practised, the worship of Vesta in their homes. Ovid's allusions to ancient customs indicate that originally the hearth must have occupied a central area of the house, and that benches were drawn up there both for worship and probably for meals, since the two aspects became linked in the cult of Vesta. However, whilst literary evidence shows the domestic cult existed, it gives no idea of its form nor, indeed, of how widespread it was. It is therefore necessary to turn to archaeological evidence, in the first instance from Rome, but also from Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia because, although their remains are chiefly from the first century AD. onwards, their state of preservation gives the most complete picture that can be formed of how Roman citizens of every class lived and worshipped.

The earliest evidence from Rome can be found in the Iron Age huts discovered on the Palatine. They were oblong in shape with rounded corners, and varied in size from 6-10 sq.m. Along their perimeter were wooden poles serving as stays for the walls and roof, whilst in the middle were one or two poles supporting the roof-beam; the walls were made of wattle and daub with a thatched roof, and the huts were surrounded by a channel to drain off excess rainwater. The remains of these huts do not indicate the presence of a hearth, but the existence of vent-holes on the short sides of hut-urns suggest they were present on the dwellings and

were designed to draw off smoke.

The best-preserved Late Archaic house in Rome, found in the Sacra Via, dates from the late sixth century or early fifth century BC., and is representative of houses built during the expansion of the Archaic City. It consisted of three rooms forming a rectangle, one long side facing the Sacra Via, with a portico in front. The central room was entered from the portico and was joined by a door to the room to the south-east, the south-west room being entered from the courtyard. The innermost of the first two rooms had a rectangular structure, identified by Gjerstad⁶ as a cooking range, against the back wall, whilst the south-west room contained three benches built of stone which were set round the remains of a table in the centre, so suggesting that this room functioned as the triclinium. Remains of stairs on the north-east side of the house, facing the courtyard, show that there was at least one upper storey which may also have consisted of three rooms. Gjerstad has suggested that the two interconnecting rooms on the ground floor were a taberna, whilst the triclinium and upper-storey rooms formed a private residence, using either the kitchen facilities in the taberna or having a kitchen in the courtyard or on the upper storey. It is also possible that cooking facilities were provided by a portable brazier, which would in addition have been used for heating. There is no evidence of any structure which might be interpreted as a shrine, but it is possible that a brazier could have been situated in the triclinium for this purpose. Certainly the absence of any concrete evidence cannot be used as an argument against the existence of domestic worship.

The dominant style of house-design from the third century BC. onwards was the atrium house, recommended by Vitruvius⁷ and regarded by Varro⁸ as originally Etruscan. This atrium house was entered through a forecourt and lobby, the vestibulum and fauces, with chambers to the right and left. On the opposite side of the atrium could be found the tablinum which originally served as the main room of the house⁹ and as the bedroom; later it was used for the storage of family documents. To the left and right of the entrance to the tablinum could be found doors or corridors to other rooms. By the first century BC., this basic design has been embroidered so that the rooms on each side of the vestibule were rented out as a taberna whilst inside the tablinum degenerated to become a passage-way to the garden or perhaps omitted entirely¹⁰. These developments can be traced in the houses excavated in Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia. For instance, the House of the Surgeon at Pompeii, which has been dated to the fourth or third century BC., was built to a rectangular plan and lacked a peristyle-type garden. The entrance-hall led to the atrium, off which were arranged cubicula, with the tablinum at one end from which two larger rooms led off at each side. Between the atrium and the tablinum was placed a dining-table, whilst a walled garden was located behind the tablinum¹¹. Another example, the House of the Wooden Partition at Herculaneum, which has been dated to the second century BC., was similar in style, but instead of having the dining-table in the atrium, provided a separate room as a triclinium on the west side of the dwelling behind the tablinum. The kitchen of these houses had no fixed location, being situated where it would cause least

disturbance to the arrangement of the rest of the rooms¹². The most important area was the hearth which was built of masonry and placed against one of the walls; it was oblong in shape and the fire was laid on top. The cooking utensils rested on rectangular projections of masonry or sometimes on iron tripods. A small window was placed over the hearth to carry away the smoke.

From the first century BC. less luxurious accommodation began to appear which was entirely different from the atrium-houses; these were the insulae blocks which consisted of a row of shops on the ground floor with apartments on the upper floor. In many cases existing large houses were altered to the new design. For example the Samnite House in Herculaneum was refurbished to incorporate an upstairs apartment reached by a stairway leading from the street, the gallery overlooking the atrium being blocked in and the apartment itself comprising two rooms divided by wooden partitions. The House of the Bicentenary was also redesigned as apartments with a shop on the ground floor, whilst the Casa a Graticcio provides an example of an insula built round an inner court. The entrance corridor led into an inner court whilst a shop opened directly on to the street; behind it were workshops and storage areas. Two additional courts served the rear of the house, one of which contained wash-basins for the ground-floor tenants¹³. The first court held a large cistern and stairs leading to the first floor apartment which contained three rooms, a bedroom, dining area and living area. Another apartment on the first floor comprised a dining room and bedroom opening off a central hall which contained a hearth and chimney to take away the smoke. Other important insulae, such as the Casa di Diana,

the Casa della Volte Dipinte and the Domus del Tempio Rotondo are situated in the port of Ostia; all these buildings had shops on the ground floor with apartments above, and often rose to a great height. The remains of the Casa di Diana extended to a third storey, and insulae rising even higher are known to have existed in Rome from references by contemporary writers¹⁴.

The earliest examples of domestic shrines appear in the Italian colony on the island of Delos, where wall-paintings serving a similar purpose to those in Pompeii have been discovered¹⁵. These paintings, which date from the late Republic, contain representations of an object, described as an "omphalos", which, it has been suggested, was an early form of Vesta¹⁶. However, there has been little further research, and therefore such an identification must remain unproven. By the early Empire, domestic worship was centred in the lararium, which took several forms and could be found in one or more areas of the Roman house, whether it was atrium-style or an insula block. According to G. K. Boyce in his article on Pompeian Lararia¹⁷ the lararia found at Pompeii can be divided into three different types; the niche, the aedicula, and the painting. To these can be added the wooden cupboard, examples of which have been found at Herculaneum¹⁸. The simplest form of niche was a square or rectangular recess set in a wall and coated with plaster; this form however is very rare, since nearly all lararia were embellished in some way, and the rectangular style often gave way to one with an arch. Its height was usually 1-1½m. above the ground, so that it could be easily reached by someone offering sacrifice. There are, however, some exceptions: in two cases the lararium was

positioned very close to the floor, while in the Casa del Fauno it was located very high up the wall, with no visible means of access¹⁹. A shelf was often placed at the base of the niche which originally may have served to give the niche a more finished appearance, but which was also used as a base on which to put statuettes and the lamps and offerings placed before them. In many cases a rooftile was used for the shelf, probably because the raised sides of the tile simulated an altar, and its edge was decorated, sometimes by paintings and sometimes by stucco work, such elaboration usually being incorporated into an aedicula facade.

The aedicula facade was one of the most common forms of lararium and could be found in a variety of designs. Some were merely delineated by a painting, such as an example in the Domus Corneli Tagetis²⁰, others were executed in stucco, such as that recorded in a house in Regio I, ii, 10²¹, relief or marble, as in a house in Regio I, ii, 17²². In its simplest form only the pediment was represented on the wall above the shrine, but more usually the facade had pilasters or applied columns at the sides, their capitals supporting the pediment. Sometimes the illusion of a small temple was continued by building a low step against the back wall of the niche, upon which statuettes could be stood. Occasionally too, a semi-circular recess was cut in the back wall of the niche, so forming an apse. The holes that have been found in the floor of many of these niches indicate that the statuettes were affixed by means of small projections in their bases which were inserted into the holes. The interior of the niches was usually decorated by painting and stucco work or by stucco work alone, though painting was the more common form. Painting

in solid colour was usually reserved for those niches without figured paintings on their walls, although sometimes it formed a solid background to the figures, and some niches had parts of their inside walls painted in different solid colours. However, the most common type of decoration was the outlining of the corners within the niche and the opening of the niche with broad, painted stripes, usually in red, though black, blue, green and yellow were also used, as can be seen in an officina in Regio I, ii, 15²³. The next most common style was to cover the walls with spots or splashes of colour, strewn without pattern, and of various colours, though red again predominated. The spots were sometimes intermingled with stars, which also appeared alone, especially on the ceiling of the niche. In addition, the inside walls could be covered with green leaves, with or without flowers, scattered in profusion, and without symmetry, over the surface. An example of this form of decoration can be seen in the lararium of an officina or caupona in Regio I, iii, 5/6²⁴.

The second type of lararium, the aedicula shrine, took the form of a small temple. In its simplest style such an aedicula consisted of a gable roof with a pediment, resting upon an architrave, which was supported in front by two columns and at the back by two columns or pilasters applied to the wall against which the structure stood. As well as this type of aedicula there was another kind which was placed on top of a podium but did not have the columns at front and back. Instead it took the form of a niche, hollowed out of a cubical mass of masonry or delineated by walls built on top of a podium and supporting a roof above them. The niche was sometimes rectangular or given a vaulted ceiling, was

surmounted by a pediment and, in many cases, was also adorned by an aedicula facade. Like the wall niche, the aedicula shrine also exhibited considerable diversity both in form and in decoration. For example, if built against one wall of the room the wall served as the back wall of the shrine while the two sides could either be left entirely open or partially closed by side walls; or the shrine could be built in the corner of the room so that only the two sides of the podium and the aedicula were left free. One or both of these two sides could be closed off, as can be seen in the aedicula shrine in the Casa del Menandro²⁵. The floor of the aedicula was often fitted with a low step, upon which a number of statuettes, or one large statue, could be placed.

As well as these types of lararia, constructed of masonry or stone, the excavations at Herculaneum have provided examples of wooden shrines. The finest example was found in a first-floor apartment in the Casa del Graticcio and comprised a wooden cupboard divided into two parts, the upper serving as the lararium, with folding doors, and the lower being used for storing household articles²⁶.

An integral part of the lararium was the altar on which offerings were made. There were two types, the large, free-standing ones which stood on the floor below or beside the shrine, and the small, portable variety which were designed to be placed within the shrine. The large altars were generally made of stone or built of tufa blocks and could be cylindrical, square or rectangular, and either free-standing or built against a wall. At the top some space for sacrifices was provided, either in the form of a rectangular depression or an area between two bolsters, though there is one example

of an altar divided into two separate sections for simultaneous sacrifices to different deities: some of the altars exhibited the marks of fire and the remains of sacrifices, so demonstrating that they were used on the day of the eruption. The small altars were made of such diverse materials as marble, travertine, tufa, terracotta and bronze and exhibit numerous designs and decorations.

Altars were also depicted in lararium paintings having libations poured upon them by the Genius or Penates, and were bounded by serpents; they were shown as cylindrical in shape and frequently painted to imitate marble. As well as altars, tripods or braziers were sometimes shown, but their comparative rarity suggests they were only used infrequently as replacements for the altars.

The most common form of decoration for the domestic shrine was the lararium painting, which could be found on its own or associated with a niche, when it was usually executed on the walls at the side of, below or above the niche as well as inside the niche itself. Whilst the subject matter and the composition of the painting varied, the most common arrangement was to put the Lares on each side of the niche with the Genius or one of the Penates on the back wall. The serpents were usually painted in the space below. Very few paintings were associated with aedicula shrines, though those that did coincide were executed either inside the shrine or on the adjacent wall. Those paintings which appeared alone, without any suggestion of a shrine, probably indicate the presence of a very simple lararium, with a table replacing the altar.

An analysis of the position of the lararium in the Pompeian houses included in Boyce's study shows the greatest number to have been in the three principal rooms, the atrium (55 examples), the peristyle (58 examples) and the kitchen (86 examples); however the lararia from the kitchens, especially those in the most luxurious houses, may have been secondary ones associated with the domestics rather than used by the family. Lararia have also been found, though in lesser numbers, in nearly every room in the house, and there are even examples of lararium paintings in latrines. Whilst Boyce's work has been augmented by more recent excavations, which show a greater concentration of shrines especially in Regio I and proportionately more garden and kitchen shrines in this region than in those available to him²⁷ these discoveries have not invalidated the evidence set out in his study. In Herculaneum examples of lararia have been found in alae, atria, kitchens, tablina and triclinia²⁸. Where more than one appeared in a dwelling, the building was generally one which had been divided into more than one apartment, so that each apartment had its own lararium²⁸. It would appear, therefore, judging from the examples from these two towns, that there was no standardized position for the lararium and it seems to have been left very much to the tastes of the owner.

Evidence from Ostia is less easy to come by, for two reasons; firstly the slow decay of the town enabled people to move out taking their portable goods with them, and secondly, because many houses were largely reconstructed during their life of often three centuries, so that features such as lararia were moved or perhaps, if they were wooden, converted to other uses.

One of the Ostian apartment houses, the Caseggiato del Larario, is so named from the aedicula in the north wall of the interior court which is generally assumed to have been the lararium of the building²⁹. If this is the case and there were no other lararia in the building, it suggests a significant difference from the practices of Pompeii and Herculaneum. It is difficult to say whether this insula served a different, and possibly poorer cross-section of the population, who could not afford to have ornate and no doubt expensive lararia, or whether it was due to the changing tastes of a slightly later period, as the Caseggiato del Larario was built during the years AD. 117-120. In the Domus del Tempio Rotondo, a late (third century AD.) house, the lararium, in the form of a small arched niche, appeared in a cubiculum³⁰, whilst in the Casa di Diana, a small arched niche on a landing between the first and second flights of stairs could possibly be the location of the insula's lararium³¹. The evidence is therefore too scanty to admit any firm interpretation, but that which has survived suggests that these lararia served a far larger number of people than did their counterparts in Pompeii and Herculaneum.

Having established the types of domestic shrines which were in use, and their general location, it is necessary to evaluate the evidence they provide for the worship of Vesta. The most complete idea of the gods and goddesses worshipped in the private sphere can be gained from the lararia paintings and statuettes found in Pompeii and Herculaneum. Out of 505 lararia in Pompeii described by G. K. Boyce there are 98 representations of 27 deities, the most common being

Fortuna (12), Vesta (10), Bacchus (8), Amor and Jupiter (7), Mercury, Hercules and Venus Pompeiana (6). Of the ten representations of Vesta five appear in houses while the other five were found in pistrina, a link which will be discussed in the third section, as will the lararium in the Casa del Laberinto. Of the remaining four lararia paintings found in houses, one was found in a latrine in the servants quarters of a house in Regio V and was evidently a subsidiary one, especially since two others were discovered in other parts of the building³². The painting showed Vesta standing and wearing a wreath, violet chiton and green mantle, whilst in her left hand she held a cornucopiae and in the right the halter of her ass. Another shrine, in the Casa del Sirico³³ took the form of an arched niche located in the kitchen; the wall surrounding the niche was coated with white stucco decorated with green, red and yellow spots, in the background of which was the lararium painting. This depicted Vesta and Vulcan standing each side of a burning altar, Vesta was wreathed and wore a yellow tunic with a violet mantle; in her left hand she held a shallow dish while the right hand extended over the altar. When Boyce observed the shrine he recorded that the left side of the niche was left unpainted but on the right wall was an ass, on each side of the niche was a Lar, wearing a green tunic, yellow sash and blue pallium and carrying a rhyton and patera, while below was a single serpent. However, when this painting was examined in 1978 only the figures of Vulcan and Vesta and the upper portion of the altar were still extant (see Appendix 1). The other two paintings were found in a house in Regio II, one on the ground floor and one on an upper floor which suggests the building had been converted into

apartments, especially since investigators found that the painting on the upper floor covered an earlier painting of two figures who may have been the Lares³⁴. The paintings on the lower floor showed Vesta holding a long torch in her left hand and pouring a libation from a patera onto a cylindrical yellow altar with her right hand. At her left side stood an ass wearing a wreath of loaves. The other painting showed Vesta seated upon an ass, wearing a green chiton and yellow mantle which covered her arm and legs; in her right hand she held a green patera and in the left the ass's reins. All these paintings showed Vesta accompanied by her ass and indicate the close connexion which existed between the goddess and the animal, a link which was also attested in classical writings. No lararium paintings depicting Vesta have been recorded from Ostia or Herculaneum, though this absence of evidence cannot be taken to mean that they did not exist; since only 5% of extant lararia in Pompeii depict the goddess it is possible that counterparts elsewhere have not yet been discovered, especially in the case of Herculaneum where only three regions have been uncovered.

The evidence of statuettes discovered in Pompeii and Herculaneum is even more scanty than that of lararium paintings. However, this statement must be tempered by the observation that statuettes are among the most portable of objects, and large numbers must have been carried away by people in their flight. Of the small number discovered in or near lararia in Pompeii, and not including the Lares, 14 were of Mercury, 11 of Minerva, 10 of Venus, 8 of Jupiter, 7 of Hercules, 5 of Harpocrates, 3 each of Aesculapius, Fortuna, Diana and

Isis-Fortuna, 2 each of Apollo and Neptune, and one each of Bacchus, Hygeia, Juno, Persephone, Priapus, Sol, Anubis and Horus; another 9 are unidentified³⁵. The story in Herculaneum is very similar; very few statuettes have been found, mainly because the inhabitants had more time to escape than those of Pompeii³⁶. There is one complete lararium, in a wooden cupboard in the Casa a Graticcio, which contained, besides statuettes of the Lares, one each of Jupiter, Athena, Aesculapius, Harpocrates and Bacchus and two of Fortuna³⁷.

Whilst evidence from Pompeii shows that Vesta was worshipped in the house, it is too scanty to say how widespread it was. The references by classical authors, though also few and far-between, do seem to indicate they were aware of, and practised some sort of worship, though their lack of comment could mean either it was in frequent use, or else it was extremely uncommon. Of these two possibilities, the former is more to be favoured than the latter for two reasons; firstly, it is not unusual for Roman authors to ignore or gloss over some feature or practice because it was so well known it needed no comment. Secondly, it was the Roman habit to give some explanation, albeit fanciful, to explain a practice whose purpose was obscure, as can be seen in their explanations of the ceremony of the Argei, which they linked with the exploits of Hercules. Therefore, if a domestic cult was so widespread as to be unworthy of comment it must be asked what form the ceremony took. The only hints are to be found in Ovid, who refers to the practice of drawing up long benches to the hearth, putting a portion of food onto a clean platter for the goddess to partake, and using a clean

plate for the offerings. This gives a picture of the family eating close to the hearth, putting a portion of food onto a clean plate so that the goddess could partake of the meal, and presumably casting the offering onto the hearth, possibly uttering words similar to those recorded by Cato, the crackling of the flame signifying its acceptability. In later Roman houses the hearth was usually divorced from the dining area, which means that either some form of offering was made before the food left the kitchen or a brazier, situated in the dining area, was employed for the sacrifice. However, it is possible that sacrifices were no longer offered in this way but placed on altars on the floor beside or inside the various types of lararia. If this was the case it may be assumed that, in the case of lararia without paintings, statuettes of the Lares, Penates and other gods, including Vesta, would have been placed inside as recipients of the offerings, or on a table in front if the lararium consisted solely of a painting. The insula blocks in Ostia show a different arrangement, with the lararia being placed in communal areas such as courtyards or landings, so suggesting that more than one household used the same lararium. If Vesta was one of the deities worshipped in the lararium, it indicates that her worship was becoming divorced from the hearth, though the absence of any statuettes makes this theory difficult to substantiate.

II. THE HOUSEHOLD GODS

Vesta was not the only deity worshipped at the domestic hearth as the Lares and Penates were also present, as they were in the State cult, and were mentioned much more frequently by classical writers. The two groups of gods were usually

paired, so indicating they were both invoked; for example, Ovid says³⁸:

She (Ovid's wife) even cast herself with flowing hair before the Lares, touching the cold hearth with quivering lips and pouring forth to the Penates her many words not destined to avail the spouse she mourned.

Virgil³⁹ also links the two:

These words said, he rose from his lofty throne and first quickens the slumbering altars with fire to Hercules, and gladly draws nigh to the Lar of yesterday and the lowly household gods.

However, the origins of these two groups appear to have been different, a fact which was recognised by classical authors.

The Penates were widely believed to have been foreign gods, and to have been brought to Italy by Aeneas. Thus Macrobius⁴⁰ says:

Varro, in the second book of his *Antiquities of Man*, relates that the Penates were brought by Dardanus from Samothrace to Phrygia and by Aeneas from Phrygia to Italy, but he does not tell us in that book who the Penates are.

Once in Italy they were brought to Lavinium, which was therefore regarded as the Roman's ancestral home. Varro⁴¹ confirms this view when he says:

The first town of the Roman line which was founded in Latium was Lavinium: for there are our Penates.

However, at the same time the Penates were closely connected with the domestic life of the Romans, so much so that the anonymous author of the "*Laus Pisonis*" regarded them as

synonymous with the house⁴²:

deign to throw open your home: this is my sole request.

The Penates appear to have had two manifestations in the public cult, as well as their domestic presence; the one was connected with Vesta and may therefore be regarded as the public facet of their link in the domestic cult, the other was purely public as they had their own temple on the Velia where they were portrayed as two youths holding spears. However, this second public cult does not date back to the early days of Rome, as Alföldi⁴³ has shown that these statues depicted them as the Dioscuri and has suggested that this association was introduced from Lavinium, where inscriptions to the Dioscuri dating back to the sixth century BC. have been found. Later, in about 100BC., a denarius of C. Sulpicius showed the Penates as Dioscuri with the sow and thirty piglets, the emblem of Lavinium, and the legend D(ei) P(enates) P(ublici), so indicating that they were regarded in this guise as the guardians of the Roman state. If the Penates had been Hellenized into the Dioscuri by Lavinium as a result of its early connections with the Greek world, it suggests that in Lavinium the Penates may have been two in number with a public cult which was absorbed into that of the Dioscuri, though there is no evidence to support this theory. It also suggests that the linking by the Romans of their own Penates with the Dioscuri and Lavinium, and their adoption as guardians of the state were probably part of the efforts made by Rome to link the Latin states to them by emphasizing their religious connections. This was particularly important in the case of Lavinium owing to the importance of the city as a religious centre and one of the leading Latin states. However,

this public cult is entirely separate from that practised in the home, and it is here that the origins of the Penates must be sought. H. J. Rose⁴⁴ has shown that the word "Penates" denotes the "dwellers in the store-room" or penus; it is therefore clear that the Penates were, first and foremost, the guardians of the food supplies of the household. This close association with the house would explain why they were regarded by Roman poets as a lyrical way of describing their home, and why Virgil attached such importance to their rescue by Aeneas from Troy, since they were considered to be essential for the continued survival of the house and the material well-being of the family. It would also explain why they became the guardians of the State, since their protection was necessary for the survival of the State as it was for the family. This close association with the house was extended to Vesta since she was the fire which warmed the hearth and upon which the food was cooked, and such a link would have meant that she would have been closer to the Penates than to the other household gods. A result of this was that several authors, such as Servius⁴⁵, regarded Vesta as one of the Penates rather than as an independent deity.

Unlike the Penates, the Lares were regarded as native gods, and were especially associated with the countryside. For instance, Cicero⁴⁶ says when describing his code of religion:

In cities they shall have shrines; they shall have groves in the country and homes for the Lares.

and, when expanding and explaining this code⁴⁷:

Nor is the worship of the Lares, handed down by our ancestors, established in sight of farm and

homestead and shared by slaves as well as masters,
to be rejected.

This association between the Lares and the countryside was also described by Calpurnius Siculus⁴⁸:

Then build an altar of fresh sods and with salted
meal invoke the genius of the place and Faunus and
the Lares.

However, the Lares were shadowy figures, and were found in many different spheres; the Lar familiaris was the Lar of the Roman household, the Lares compitales the Lares of the crossroads, the Lares viales the Lares of the roads, and many others. From suggestions in Latin authors a theory has arisen that the Lares were ancestor spirits, but Wissowa, and later Laing⁴⁹, have sought to disprove this. The evidence for an ancestor theory is not very strong, and some of it is rather late; Arnobius mentioned it among several others⁵⁰:

We can, if it is thought proper, speak briefly of the Lares also, whom the mass think to be the gods of streets and ways, because the Greeks name streets laurae. In different parts of his writing, Nigidius (speaks of them) now as the guardians of houses and dwellings; now as the Curetes, who are said to have once concealed, by the clashing of cymbals, the infantile cries of Jupiter; now the five Digi Samothracii, who the Greeks tell (us) were named Idaei Dactyli. Varro, with like hesitation, says at one time that they are the Manes, and therefore the mother of the Lares was named Mania; at another time, again, he maintains that they are gods of the air, and are termed heroes;

at another, following the opinion of the ancients, he says that the Lares are ghosts, as it were a kind of tutelary demon, spirits of dead men.

It is clear from this passage that many guesses of the origins of the Lares were derived from Greek legend, whilst Varro suggested they were the spirits of the dead as one of a number of opinions, but did not come down firmly in favour of any one theory. Further proof for the Lares being ancestor spirits has been claimed for a passage from Pliny the Elder⁵¹ describing the procedure adopted for food accidentally dropped on the floor:

Food also that fell from the hand used to put back, at least during courses, and it was forbidden to blow off, for tidiness, any dirt; auguries have been recorded from the words or thoughts of the diner who dropped food, a very dreadful omen being if the Pontiff should do so at a formal dinner. In any case putting it back on the table and burning it before the Lar counts as expiation.

It has been suggested that this was an example, found in different forms in other cultures, of throwing food which had fallen on the floor, onto the fire as an offering to the souls of the dead. Laing⁵², however, has questioned this theory, and suggested that it had a secular origin, the crumbs falling on the floor having been swept into the fire for the sake of cleanliness, this custom later developing into the idea that it was an offering to a spirit. It is also possible that, in this passage at least, Pliny was using the term "Lar" to describe all the household gods, in which case it is just as likely the offering was made to Vesta rather than to the Lares.

Another suggestion links the Lares with the shadowy goddess Larentia whose festival, the Larentalia, contained ceremonies reminiscent of funerary rites; and who was called the mother of the Lares. However, this theory must also be doubtful since the concept of parents of the gods does not belong to the early strata of Roman religion and was probably influenced by Greek examples. The theory to which Laing subscribes⁵³ regards the Lares as one of the many groups of deities who belonged to the earliest form of Roman religion; whose numbers were limitless and whose powers were not precisely defined. They may have been regarded as a form of beneficent spirit whose powers could be attached to physical features, such as woods, man-made objects such as cross-roads, and to human beings themselves. It was therefore probable that those Roman writers who regarded the Lares as spirits of the countryside were seeing one aspect, possibly the earliest manifestation of the gods, and that the Lares praestites, the Lares of the community, and the Lar familiaris, the Lar of the householder, became identified as the guardians of the first settlements and then of individuals.

Whilst this theory seems to fit all the known facts, it does not rule out the possibility that the Lares were also worshipped as ancestor spirits, as their association with the living may have continued after death, perhaps through burial in the ground they also protected. However, if this is accepted, a distinction must have existed between the Lares and other groups of spirits who were associated with the dead, specifically the Lemures and the Manes. The first of these groups seem to have been thought of by the Romans as ghosts⁵⁴, especially

those of the household who returned to haunt the home and were regularly expelled during the festival of the Lemuria⁵⁵. The second group, the Manes, originally seem to have been regarded, rather vaguely, as the collective divinity of all who had died⁵⁶; however, they came to be considered as the spirits of dead relatives who were worshipped during the Parentalia⁵⁷ and who needed regular offerings to prevent them from haunting the world of the living. The Lares may have been differentiated from these other spirits through their links, first with the countryside, then with the early settlements and finally with the pater familias. The place, therefore, of the Lares in the household may have been as ancestral spirits protecting the current inhabitants, with the Penates protecting the food supplies and Vesta guarding the hearth fire.

As well as Vesta, the Lares and Penates, the house also contained the genius, but unlike the Lares, whose duties extended to all the members of the household, the genius was the attendant spirit of each individual, so the number of genii depended on the number of people in residence. However, the most important genius was that attached to the pater familias and was the one depicted in lararia paintings. It is therefore clear that each deity or group of gods fulfilled specific functions in the Roman house, and because of this, were invoked individually, rather than together under one composite name.

III. THE CONNECTION BETWEEN VESTA AND THE BAKING TRADE.

The lararia paintings discovered in Pompeian dwellings and discussed earlier all depict Vesta as accompanied by an ass.

References to the ass by classical authors make it clear that the animal was regarded as especially connected with the goddess. Ovid⁵⁸ describes how during the Vestalia the asses were honoured:

Lo, loaves are hung on asses decked with wreaths,
and flower garlands veil the rough mill-stones ...
Hence the baker honours the hearth and the mistress
of hearths and the she-ass that turns the mill-stones
of pumice.

Propertius⁵⁹, also links Vesta with an ass when imagining how the early cult was served:

Vesta was poor, and necklaced asses sufficed to
make her glad, while lean kine dragged sacred
emblems of little worth.

while the "Copa" attributed to Virgil stresses the connection⁶⁰:

Come hither priest of Cybele. Now thy wearied ass
is sweating: spare him: the ass is Vesta's delight.

These references show that Vesta was commonly associated with the ass, and that during the Vestalia the animals were especially honoured, being wreathed with garlands of loaves and spared work for the day. Moreover, a painting in the Macellum at Pompeii depicts cupids as millers celebrating the Vestalia and decking the asses with wreaths. This link is also shown by their appearances in lararia, not only those in houses but additionally in pistrina. These pistrina could be attached to houses but in Pompeii they were mainly connected with public baking establishments, of which 20 had been found in the city by 1937⁶¹. The main room of the pistrinum contained the mill-room and adjoining it would be found the stable for the asses, the kneading room, oven, near

which would be situated the lararium painting, storeroom and living quarters for the slaves.

In his survey of Pompeian lararia G. K. Boyce identified five lararium paintings with representations of Vesta in public pistrina and one in a pistrinum attached to the Casa del Laberinto⁶². This last was situated above the hearth and consisted of three zones, the uppermost containing the Lares, Vesta and Venus Pompeiana. Vesta had a wreath upon her head from which a white veil hung down her back, she wore a white tunic and carried a sceptre on her left hand and a patera in her right above an altar, behind which stood her ass. Of the other five paintings three were recorded by Boyce but are no longer in situ. The first depicted Vesta standing to the right of an altar, wearing a white tunic and veil, holding a sceptre in her left hand while pouring a libation onto the altar with her right hand. An ass stood at her side, she was accompanied by Bacchus and flanked on each side by a Lar. In the second painting, which was faded when Boyce recorded it⁶³, Vesta was seated to one side of an altar, veiled and flanked by Lares. In her left hand she held a sceptre whilst extending her right hand to pour a libation onto the altar. There is no record of her having been accompanied by an ass, but because of its poor state of preservation it is possible it has been lost. In the third painting⁶⁴ Vesta stood to the left of the Lares and Genius, clad in a double chiton and veil, holding a sceptre in her left hand and a sheaf of grain in her right; at her side was an ass with a bell round its neck.

Of the two remaining paintings, one was situated in the room

containing the oven and was near the hearth⁶⁵. It took the form of a niche, at each side of which stood a Lar; below the niche was a pediment and below the pediment an altar with a serpent at each side. Also beside the altar was depicted Vesta wearing a wreath of flowers, yellow tunic and reddish mantle and holding a sceptre. An ass stood by her side with its head appearing above the altar. The last painting, which is still extant is worth a closer study, not only because it is the only one still in situ, but also because it is one of the finest lararium paintings discovered (see Appendix 1). It is situated in the inner room of a pistrinum in Regio VII, xii, 14, which also contained a taberna, and is on the west wall near the oven. The painting covers the whole wall and is divided into two registers. The lower register shows an altar with flowers and branches which is flanked by two large serpents. In the upper register, under two garlands are Vesta and two Lares. The Lar to Vesta's right is slightly larger than the Lar to her left; both hold a rhyton in the hand away from the central panel, from which they are pouring wine into a situla held in the other hand. They are both wearing a yellow tunic with a violet border, a violet pallium and high boots. Vesta herself is about one third larger in size than the Lares and is portrayed as sitting on an ornate chair, over which is draped a green cover. She is veiled and wears a red and green robe over a pale whiteish-grey chiton (Boyce describes the chiton as yellow, which indicates that it must have faded; he also describes the robe as violet), which is so draped as to leave her right shoulder bare. In her left hand she holds a cornucopiae from which garlands fall over her arm, in her right hand she extends a patera

over a small altar which is piled with ears of grain and garlands. To her left, appearing from behind her chair, is the head and foreparts of an ass.

An analysis of these paintings shows that in three of them Vesta carries a sceptre, presumably indicating her status as a major deity, there are four representations of an ass, and in two paintings ears of wheat are depicted, one as a sheaf held by the goddess, the other as ears of wheat piled on the altar. The ass and the ears of wheat, as well as the presence of these paintings in pistrina, provide a link between Vesta and the baking trade, and it is necessary to examine the process of bread-making to see how they became associated.

Pliny the Elder⁶⁶ states that there were no bakers in Rome until the war with King Perseus (c.168 BC.); before that time, bread was baked at home by the women of the house. He also states⁶⁷:

According to Verrius, emmer was the only corn used by the Roman nation for 300 years.

The botanical name for far, the word used by Pliny, is triticum dicoccum and is variously translated as "spelt" or "emmer"; however, Jasny⁶⁸ has demonstrated that the translation of far as "spelt" is inaccurate since spelt was only grown extensively in Northern Italy, failing to adapt itself to the Mediterranean climate, and was not introduced until the first century BC. On the other hand, emmer was grown in Campania, Picenum and Umbria, the Ancona district being famous for its quality⁶⁹. Far was an important element in

the economy of the early Roman world, as is indicated by the derivation of the word for flour "farina", from far. However, the great drawback of far as a food grain was that it was a hulled wheat, i.e. before milling it had to undergo a hulling operation to separate the grains from the husks, since the husks adhered so tightly to the grains that the rachis, the stem of the ear, broke off before the ear could be freed. Therefore, it had to be stored in the ear⁷⁰ and had to be roasted to free the grain; however, the effect of roasting meant that the grain could not be made into bread but instead had to be made into a type of porridge (puls). Naked wheat, whose husks did not adhere tightly to the grains, did not have these drawbacks. Since its cover glumes are loose, the grains could be easily shaken from the ear, and could be threshed out on the threshing-floor, so separating the chaff from the grains and leaving the grain ready for milling. This meant that, in the case of naked wheat, the expensive hulling operation was unnecessary, and the grain was more easy to store. From references in Varro⁷¹ it is clear that far had largely disappeared from the human diet by his time. However, the appearance of bread must date back much earlier, since there are references to it in Plautus⁷², while Cato in "De Agricultura" describes how to bake bread on oiled leaves, and in a "testu" or earthenware crock⁷³.

There was, however, one sphere in which far was still used in later times, and that was in the religious life of Rome. Pliny the Elder states⁷⁴:

Numa established worship of the gods with an offering of corn and winning their favour with a

salted cake and, according to Hemina, of roasting emmer wheat (far) because it was more wholesome for food when roasted - although he could attain this only in one way, by establishing that emmer was not in a pure condition for a religious offering unless it had been roasted.

As Pliny stated, far was an important ingredient of mola salsa, and mola salsa was made by the Vestals, whose method of preparation of the far and the salt was described by Servius⁷⁵ and Festus⁷⁶. On alternate days between the Nones and Ides of May, the three senior Vestals reaped the ripe ears of far, placed them into baskets, roasted them and shook out the grains by hand. They then ground the grain in a hand grinder until it formed a loose meal. The unpurified salt was pounded in a mortar, covered and sealed in a clay pot, and baked in an oven. The cake thus formed was then cut up with an iron saw and put into a jar which was then kept in the penus Vestae. When the meal and the salt were required for sacrifices the salt was mixed with water and the resulting brine sprinkled over the meal, the result being similar to a porridge.

It is clear that the domestic preparation of far must have been similar to the preparation of mola salsa, since the method used by the Vestals was a form of collection and grinding which would have been used in the primitive household.

However, it may be that the use of salt in the mola salsa also mirrored domestic usage. Joan Frayn⁷⁷ has remarked that the Romans did not put salt in their bread but ate it separately, and even today salt is one of the ingredients of porridge⁷⁸.

It is probable, therefore, that the puls eaten by the early Romans contained salt as one of its major ingredients, either mixed with it or kept on one side, and that mola salsa was the descendant of the porridge consumed, and possibly used for sacrifice, in the home. It is also possible that this identification of puls with mola salsa provides a link via bread made in the home, with commercial baking which did not commence in Rome until the second century BC., and then rapidly established itself to the detriment of home baking. Such large-scale baking would have adopted Vesta as its tutelary goddess because her domestic role as guardian of the hearth and recipient of the sacrifice of food eaten at the table, first in the form of puls, then as bread, made her an obvious choice.

The growth of large-scale baking provides the second strand to link it with Vesta since the ass which accompanied her was also involved in the commercial grinding of grain, since it powered the large mills which ground the grain into flour. The mills in Pompeii, which provide our evidence, were made of local lava and were in two parts. The lower stone called the meta, was conical in shape and fixed into a heavy base with a raised edge, which formed a trough into which the flour fell. The upper stone, called the catillus, was hour-glass in shape, and fitted over the meta so as to allow the grain to be poured into the top, slide over the point of the meta and be trapped between the two stones. A wooden frame would then be fitted over these stones, and the ass harnessed to projecting shafts by means of a chain or collar. It is clear that asses were used in preference to other draught animals because the hard,

debilitating nature of the work would soon wear out more expensive beasts; indeed, slaves were occasionally used if even asses were regarded as too valuable, and references in Plautus and Terence⁷⁹ show that such employment was a dreaded punishment. The date of the introduction of the donkey-mill into Italy is uncertain, but Cato mentions a donkey-mill as essential equipment for a farm of 240 iugera⁸⁰, whilst Plautus mentions a mill in the "Asinaria"⁸¹, and it has been suggested by Moritz⁸² that this latter reference is the earliest one to a donkey-mill. The date of the "Asinaria" is unknown, but cannot be later than 184 BC. (the supposed date of Plautus's death), which would seem to be rather late for the ass to have been first linked with Vesta if there was no earlier association. It is possible that when large-scale commercial baking, which was only economically viable with the introduction of the rotary donkey-driven grain mill, started in Rome, the link between Vesta and domestic baking may have been sufficient to link the goddess to the animal which powered the mill. However, the equine world had its own goddess, Epona, who was depicted in a Pompeian lararium painting as riding on an ass⁸³. Epona was not depicted together with Vesta and her ass in extant lararium paintings, which would indicate that Vesta's link with the ass of the pistrinum was powerful enough to dislodge Epona's claim. Moreover, as Epona is believed to have originally been a Celtic goddess⁸⁴, it is possible that she was a later introduction, perhaps from the time of the Celtic invasion of Italy in the 390s BC. It is therefore probable that the association of Vesta with an ass predated the introduction of both the donkey-mill and of Epona.

Finally, it is necessary to consider whether the goddess of the oven, Fornax, who was also associated with baking, was connected in any way with Vesta. Fornax is one of the shadowy goddesses of the Roman pantheon. She was mentioned by two authors only; by Lactantius⁸⁵ in a derisory manner, and by Ovid⁸⁶, who related that Fornax came into being because, in the early days, when far was roasted on the hearth, ash was swept up with the grain. Therefore, they roasted it in a large oven which they came to regard as a goddess:

... delighted with her, the farmers prayed that she would temper the heat to the oven committed to her charge.

The development of the large oven was no doubt of great importance for Roman baking techniques, since the roasting of grain on the hearth meant that only small-scale baking was possible, whereas the large oven could deal with vastly increased amounts of grain, so improving efficiency. It is therefore not surprising that Fornax came into being as a goddess in her own right. However, it is clear that she had a very specific role, being responsible solely for the roasting of the grain and for no other part of the bread-making process. Her festival, the Fornacalia, which was held in February, was believed to have been founded by Numa, which was another way of saying that its origins were unknown, and its ceremony is obscure, though it has been suggested that it was based on the curia⁸⁷. Since it was held in February it cannot have been connected with the harvest, which was not completed until May, and Ovid's specific link between Fornax and the large oven would suggest that her festival was

concerned solely with the roasting of the grain. From what little is known of Fornax, it would therefore appear that she belonged to an early stratum of deities, being connected with one specific object and without the scope for expansion that Vesta as goddess of the hearth possessed. It is quite possible that her development was arrested by the greater influence of Vesta, so that she remained a rather minor, and very specific goddess.

The link between Vesta and the ass would therefore seem to predate the arrival of the donkey-mill in Italy, which can be dated to some time before 185 BC.⁸⁸, mainly because so late an association as the second century BC. would have been commented on, but no such references can be found in classical writings. Carcopino⁸⁹ has suggested that the link with the ass came about because the animal was used to transport salt water from the salt-pans of Ostia for use in the production of mola salsa. Evidence for this theory is of a purely negative variety, as there is nothing to prove or disprove it, either in classical writing or in archaeological discoveries, but since the Vestals had to obtain their salt from somewhere, it is perfectly possible that they obtained it from this source. Certainly, descriptions of the production of the salt for mola salsa indicates that it had to have its imperfections removed, which again would suggest it was obtained from a salt-pan. The only theory advanced by classical writers is that related by Ovid⁹⁰ who dates the association between Vesta and the ass from the attempted seduction of the goddess by Silenus, which was foiled by the braying of an ass; according to him this legend explained why the ass was spared work during

the Vestalia. However, this tale appears to be a retelling of a Greek legend, and was seeking to explain an association which was obviously of long-standing but whose origins were obscure. It is probable therefore, that the connection between Vesta and the ass originally came into being when the animal was used in her service, possibly to transport the salt for use in mola salsa, and when the donkey-driven mill was introduced into Italy she became the goddess of the commercial bakers, both through the ass which made the process viable, and through her position as the guardian of the domestic hearth where, up to then, all the bread of the household had been baked.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The evidence for the domestic cult of Vesta is very scanty, and takes several different forms. Classical writers very rarely alluded to her domestic worship, but were more interested in the other household gods, the Lares and Penates. These gods had specific functions, the Lares being spirits of the whole house, whilst the Penates were guardians of the store-room and therefore protectors of the household's food supply. Vesta, as goddess of the hearth, which at once warmed the dwelling and cooked the food, therefore complemented the other two, though she was closer to the Penates than the Lares, so much so that she was frequently regarded as one of their number. This association between them was strengthened by their presence in the Trojan legends, which made them refugees rescued by Aeneas from Troy, and later important deities in the Roman's ancestral city of Lavinium. These domestic and legendary links meant they were also associated in the public cult as guardians of the welfare of the State, though the

Penates were Hellenized to the extent that they had their own temple on the Velia where they took the form of the Dioscuri. However, the origins of both the Penates and Vesta were Italian rather than Greek, with the latter deity being much less Hellenized than the former. The form of Vesta's domestic worship is unknown, like the public cult, but again, like the public cult the few scattered allusions in authors like Ovid and Cato suggest a very simple ritual. Food seems to have been thrown onto the hearth from the family's meal, with some form of invocation being uttered, perhaps similar in form to that recorded by Cato for Jupiter Dapalis which he claimed could be used for Vesta as well. As the Roman house became more complex and the life-styles of the people changed, the hearth did not remain the focus of the worship of Vesta and the domestic gods; instead shrines were set up in convenient locations and offerings were made on altars placed in their vicinity. The greatest number of these lararia have been found in Pompeii, whose styles range from simple wall-niches to highly elaborate aediculae; however, evidence of the presence of Vesta in the domestic worship of the first century BC. and the first century AD is to be found in the wall-paintings which also served as main or secondary lararia in houses, shops and commercial establishments. These representations, which are divided equally between homes and pistrina, usually show her as being accompanied by an ass, an animal which classical authors mentioned as being especially favoured by the goddess. This association was of long-standing, probably dating from the early days of the cult, when the ass may have acted as a beast of burden for the

Vestals. However, by the early second century BC, the ass also provided a link with the commercial bakers and the development of pistrina. Pistrina came into being when the more primitive grains, such as far, which was made into puls, the staple porridge of the early Romans, were replaced by wheat, which could be ground by hand-querns or simple mills. By the early second century BC. the more sophisticated donkey-driven mill was introduced into Italy, so making commercial pistrina viable and lessening the importance of home baking. This meant that, since Vesta was already the goddess of the domestic hearth, where the household's bread had been baked, it is not surprising that she was adopted by commercial establishments, which also used her favoured beast.

Therefore, it is clear that although information is hard to come by, Vesta played an important role in private worship, not only in the house but also in the devotion of the commercial bakers who came into existence towards the end of the Republic.

APPENDIX 1

LARARIA PAINTINGS DEPICTING
VESTA

Lararium painting; Regio VII, ix.13



Close-up showing Vesta and her ass



Painting in kitchen of the Casa di Sirici



NOTES TO CHAPTER III

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56. Ovid. Fasti II 533-548
57. See n. 55 p.75
58. See Appendix II no.138
59. See Appendix II no.178
60. See Appendix II no.227
61. H. H. Tanzer. The Common People of Pompeii. The John Hopkins Press 1939 Ch.III. The Bakers p.19
62. See n.17 no.185
63. See n. 17 no.240
64. See n.17 no.247
65. See n. 17 no.313
66. See Appendix II no.163
67. See Appendix II no.160
68. N. Jasny. Competition among grains in Classical Antiquity. Anc.Hist.Rev. XLVII (1941)
69. K. D. White. Roman Farming. Thames and Hudson 1970.Ch.II. Roman Agriculture p.70

70. See Appendix II no. 159
71. See Appendix II nos 159, 160
72. Plaut. Asin. 1, 12, 200; Aul.195; Bacch.580; Pers.471;
Men.917
73. See Appendix II no.15
74. See Appendix II no.157
75. See Appendix II no.191
76. See Appendix II no.65
77. J. Frayn. Home Baking in Roman Italy. Antiquity LII pp.28-33
78. B. Nilson. The Penguin Cookbook. Harmondsworth 1973
pp.294-295
79. Plaut.Asin.1.36; Poen.827f; Ter. And.199ff; Phorm.249
80. Cato. De Ag.x.4
81. Plaut. Asin.1.36
82. L. A. Moritz. Grain Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity.
Oxford 1958. Ch.X. Mills and Millers in Plautus' comedies.
pp.67-73
83. See n. 34. Boyce suggests that Vesta rather than Epona
is the deity represented, but this is doubtful on two
counts. Firstly, Vesta is not depicted in any other
lararium painting as riding an ass, but always as leading
it or standing in front of it. Secondly, whilst Epona
is usually portrayed as riding a horse, there are
examples (see J. M. C. Toynbee, Animals in Roman Life
and Art. Thames & Hudson 1973 pp.197-199) of her riding
an ass. The balance of probability therefore favours
Epona rather than Vesta as the subject of this painting.
84. J. M. C. Toynbee. Animals in Roman Life and Art. Thames
& Hudson 1973. Ch.XVI. Equine Animals p.198

85. See Appendix II no. 84
86. Ovid Fasti II 525-527
87. W. Warde Fowler. The Roman Festivals. Macmillan & Co
1916. Mensis Februarius p.301
88. See n.82
89. J. Carcopino. Virgile et les Origines d'ostie. Paris 1919
Ch. III La Troie Ostienne pp.487-488
90. See Appendix II no.139

CHAPTER IV

EVIDENCE FOR THE CULT OF VESTA

Evidence for the cult of Vesta takes two forms; references in classical literature and inscriptions, and archaeological remains.

The most frequent references by classical authors to the existence of Vesta refer to her public cult in Rome. For instance, Martial uses her temple as part of his directions when he sends his book to Proculus¹:

Go forth, my book, to bear my greeting for me; 'tis
to the smart house of Proculus you are bidden to go,
a duteous messenger. You ask the way? I'll tell you.
You will pass the temple of Castor near time honoured
Vesta, and the house of the Vestals.

and Cicero brings to the minds of his listeners the exploits of Lucius Metellus²:

And yonder neighbouring temple of Vesta bids you
remember that Lucius Metellus who, as Pontifex Maximus,
when the temple was ablaze, hurled himself into the
thickest of the fire and snatched from the flames that
Palladium which is the earnest of our well-being and our
empire and which lies in the safe-keeping of Vesta.

Outside Rome, the only references to the practice of the cult of Vesta relate to Lavinium. Macrobius says, among others³:

... so much so, that consuls and praetors, or dictators,
when they enter office, sacrifice at Lavinium to the
Penates and to Vesta together.

Whilst there are references to Vesta outside Italy, it has to be asked whether Vesta is the deity in question. One such

example can be found in Appian's account of the Mithridatic Wars⁴:

The Caunii, who had been made subject to Rhodes after the war against Antiochus and had been lately liberated by the Romans, pursued the Italians who had taken refuge about the statue of Hestia in the senate house, tore them from the shrine, first killed the children before their mother's eyes, and then killed the mothers themselves and their husbands after them.

Whilst in this passage the goddess concerned is called Hestia, this need not rule out Vesta, since she was frequently called Hestia by authors writing in Greek, even when it was clear that the Roman goddess was the one under discussion. However, the passage then goes on to state that the statue was situated in the council chamber, which would suggest that the goddess in this instance was Hestia rather than Vesta since the Greek goddess was to be found here or in the Prytaneion, rather than in her own temple. The dearth of written evidence for Vesta outside Italy might therefore suggest that her influence was confined to the western part of the Roman world, where there was less Greek involvement.

One indication of the importance of Vesta in the western Roman Empire is the frequency with which she is called "Mother Vesta" (Vesta Mater). Inscriptions containing this title have been discovered in Rome and Abellinum⁵ and it is also quite common in Roman literature. For example Cicero says⁶:

Suffer it not, gentlemen, that the altars of the immortal gods and of Mother Vesta should by the daily lamentations of their virgin be put in mind of your tribunal

and again⁷:

and thee, Mother Vesta, whose chaste priestesses I have protected from the madness, frenzy and wickedness of men.

For Vesta to be described both as virgin and mother suggests either that the Romans had only a hazy idea of her status or that she was regarded as "Mother" in a limited sense, which was not related to the rest of her persona. As regards the first option, it is clear that the Romans regarded Vesta as virgin because of the cleansing effect of the fire she represented, and because her priestesses were also virgin. It is doubtful, therefore, that the Romans would have regarded her as virgin and, at the same time as a mother, with all the overtones of an active, as opposed to a latent, fertility that the term conveys. Also, it is evident, on examining those passages where Vesta is called "Mother", that the goddess is being regarded in some way as the guardian of the state. This is especially clear in a passage of Virgil⁸:

Gods of my country, Heroes of the land, thou Romulus
and Vesta our mother, that guardest Tuscan Tiber and
the Palatine of Rome...

Here Vesta is linked with Romulus and the gods of the Roman state and invoked as a protectress of the city. There are other occasions on which Vesta is regarded as a guardian of Rome, though without her being called "Mother"; for instance, at the conclusion of his history, Velleius Paterculus calls upon the gods⁹:

Let me end my volume with a prayer. O Jupiter
Capitolinus and Mars Gradivus, author and stay of the

Roman name, Vesta, Guardian of the eternal fire, and all other divinities who have exalted this great empire of Rome, to the highest point yet reached on earth.

These passages show that Vesta was considered by Roman writers as of great importance in the rise of the Roman world and accredited to her a position as a mainstay and guardian of the city. In some part this is due to the presence of the Palladium in her temple; as Cicero says when speaking in praise of Brutus¹⁰:

.. who should be preserved as carefully as that statue which fell down from heaven, and is kept in the custody of Vesta, and whose safety means we also shall be safe.

In this connection, it is interesting to consider the story of Baker Jupiter which Ovid relates in the Fasti¹¹. Briefly, it is set during the Gallic invasion when the defenders of Rome were penned up in the Capitol. Mars pleads with Jupiter to come to the assistance of the Romans, and is supported by Venus, Quirinus and Vesta. In reply Jupiter tells Vesta to ensure that all the corn left unground be ground and formed into cakes. At midnight Jupiter tells the Romans to throw at the enemy the last resource they would wish to lose, so next morning they throw the cakes at the enemy and overcome them. The tale is related to give an explanation for the existence of an altar to Jupiter the Baker, but it is interesting for the part played by Vesta. It is clear that she is ranked along with Mars and Quirinus, the gods intimately connected with the rise to pre-eminence of Rome, as well as with Venus, who was promoted by Caesar and his successors as the ancestress of their line. She is given the task of preparing the materials by which the Gauls were to be vanquished, which also

echoes some of the tasks performed by her priestesses. Such a story is additional evidence of the position held by Vesta in the maintenance of the state and increases the likelihood that she is called "Mother" because of her role in the protection of the safety of Rome.

Inscriptional evidence for the existence of the cult of Vesta is mainly confined to Italy, like that from classical writers, but her presence has also been found in Gaul, Spain and Britain. Inscriptions from Rome are mainly associated with the Vestals and can be divided into two groups; those found in the excavations of 1497, and those in the excavations of 1883. In the first group are dedications in honour of Junia Torquata¹², Campia Severina¹³, Flavia Mamilia¹⁴. Coelia Concordia¹⁵, and Terentia Flavola¹⁶; the second group comprises inscriptions to Calpurnia Praetextata¹⁷, Numisia Maximilla¹⁸, Terentia Flavola¹⁹, Flavia Publica²⁰, Coelia Claudiana²¹, and one with the name erased²². All of these inscriptions were found in the area of the aedes Vestae and Atrium Vestae and probably were associated with statues of the Chief Vestals which were placed in the Atrium during the second, third and early fourth centuries AD. Further inscriptions to those Vestals have been found in other parts of Rome, some of which may have been transported there from the Forum. Terentia Flavola is referred to in an inscription found in Trastevere²³ and the Palatine area²⁴, another to Flavia Publica was found near the church of SS. Cosmo et Damian in the area of the Palatine²⁵ while one to Flavia Publica and Terentia Rufilla was discovered near the Circus Maximus²⁶. The base of a statue to Coelia Concordia was

uncovered in the Esquiline area in 1591²⁷, while gold discs dedicated to Calpurnia Praetextata were discovered in 1748 and 1785, the latter recorded as coming from the area of Prata Portia²⁸. All these inscriptions can be dated to the second, third and fourth centuries AD. Those of Vesta herself are less frequent and there are some which were erected by the same person; for instance, Eutyches, who lived during the reign of Antoninus Pius, dedicated an offering on behalf of himself and his sons, the dedication of which was discovered near the Basilica Julia²⁹, and a marble base which was unearthed near the Basilica Aemilia, both of which probably came from the Atrium Vestae. Inscriptions to Vesta have also been found near the Caelian³⁰ and in the ager Vaticano, the latter dedicated by Septimius Cassianus. Like the dedications by Eutyches, it is probable that these too came from the temple or the Atrium Vestae. Outside Rome, evidence for a cult of Vesta and served by Vestals comes from Tibur and Bovillae. Tibur has provided three inscriptions to the Virgo Vestalis Tiburtium, one to Saufeia Alexandria³¹, one to Sextilia³², and a fragmentary one which has not preserved the name of the Vestal³³. From Bovillae comes a marble table which refers to Severina, the Virgo Vestalis Albanae³⁴, whilst Pratica has yielded a marble base which speaks of Caecilia, Virgo Maior of Laurentium and Lavinium³⁵. Ostia, an Imperial foundation, has provided a fragmentary reference to a Vestal or Vestals³⁶, whilst from Nemi comes an inscription to Vesta and Diana Nemorensis which can be dated to the reign of Nerva³⁷. Outside Italy there are a few references to Vesta, primarily in the Fasti of various cities; for example, one from Cumae dating from the early Empire

records supplications to the goddess on 7 October, 16 November, 6 March and 24 May, these dates being the birthdays of Drusus, Tiberius, Caesar and Germanicus respectively³⁸, whilst the Fasti of Venusia records the Vestalia which fell on 9 June. As well as these allusions to Vesta, an inscription from Abellinum contains a dedication by C.Iulius Rufianus who is described as a pontifex of Vesta³⁹. Like the other inscriptions this last dates from the Empire and probably from the third or fourth centuries AD., since priests of Vesta first appear during this period.

The rest of the Roman Empire has produced inscriptions from Gaul, Spain and Britain. In Gallia Narbonensis Vesta is mentioned in company with Serapis and Diana⁴⁰, whilst in the city of Lugdunum, the modern Lyons, she appears on the Ara Romae et Augusti in the company of the gods of the Senones⁴¹. In Lauterburg she is represented with Mercury on a monument⁴², whilst at Mogontiacum she is represented on an altar discovered in 1892⁴³, and fragments of inscriptions have been found at Vetera and Ulpia Noviomagus⁴⁴. In Seville there is an inscription to Vesta Augusta⁴⁵ whilst in Britain a plaque with representations of Diana, Minerva, Juno and Apollo as well as an image of a seated female figure who has been thought to be Vesta, was found at Corbridge in 1734. Britain has also provided two statuettes which have been identified with the goddess; one from Camerton in Somerset has been thought to have come from a temple, and the other was found at Shenfield in Essex⁴⁶.

As can be seen, the remains from Rome mainly comprise dedications to the Chief Vestals which originally were set up

in the Atrium Vestae, and their distribution throughout the city is probably the result of their being dismantled and re-used in other buildings. An exception is the inscription to Coelia Claudiana found in 1591 on the Esquiline, since it was situated in the palace of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, the great champion of paganism in the late fourth century AD., who was himself honoured by the Vestals in having a statue to himself erected in the Atrium Vestae. As the distribution map at Appendix 1 makes clear, the bulk of the inscriptions from the provinces have been found with legionary fortresses and settlements established by the Romans, and not in native towns. This would imply that Vesta was brought by the army and was mostly worshipped by them. This is supported by evidence from Dura-Europus where the Feriale of the cohorts XX Palmyrenorum was discovered. The Feriale, which has been dated to AD.225-227 records, along with the natales of various members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the dies imperii of Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Septimius Severus, Caracalla and the family of Alexander Severus, some of the public festivals, among which is the Vestalia. Nock⁴⁷ has suggested this calendar originated in the Julio-Claudian period and was a result of Augustus's religious policy, which involved the creation of a military calendar of religious observances. This theory is supported by other inscriptions which are solely concerned with Vesta and do not mention the existence of any Vestals connected with the organisation of the cult. Her appearance is always with other gods and she is mentioned on her own only in isolated dedications, which would suggest that she travelled without the trappings of her cult, along with other deities such as Sarapis, Diana, Juno, Apollo and Mercury who were

favoured by the army. This would suggest that the introduction of Vesta to the provinces was brought about by the army and she was not a familiar goddess to the native inhabitants.

Archaeological evidence for the cult of Vesta is confined to the Forum Romanum wherein lies the remains of the aedes Vestae and the Atrium Vestae, which were excavated in 1883 and 1899-1900. All that has survived of the temple is the podium and a few fragments. The podium consists of four strata of concrete faced with opus incertum and brick, the lowest stratum measuring 15.05m. in diameter and 2.17m. in thickness. On the east side and in other parts of the periphery are tufa blocks which comprised the foundations of steps up to the cella. In the centre of the podium was found a trapezoidal cavity 5m. deep with sides measuring between 2.20m and 2.50m. in length, which may have been the repository of the "stercus" removed during the Vestalia, since this may have been stored in the temple itself. Most of the foundation layer and the podium can be dated to the reign of Augustus, but the cavity has been assigned to the principate of Domitian and the highest stratum to Septimus Severus, both of whom are known to have re-built the temple after it was destroyed by fire. The architectural fragments which have survived come from the last re-building by Julia Domna and comprise a portion of the inner and outer wall, together with six columns. These are of the Corinthian order and measure about 0.51m. in diameter and 4.45m. in height. A portion of the architrave which has survived is decorated on the outside and on the roof between the two walls. The podium is also decorated. The temple was represented on coins of the late Republic and

the Empire, and in its earliest form was shown as standing on a base of three steps, with columns surmounted by Ionic capitals. However, the most detailed extant representation appears on a relief in the Uffizi in Florence⁴⁸, and shows a small, round temple with decorated podium and architrave. The pillars, of which four are visible, have Ionic capitals connected by lattice-work presumably of metal. The entrance is up a flight of seven steps and is depicted as having two doors, both opening outwards, and a decorated lintel. The roof is conical in shape with a pattern probably intended to represent the wooden roof of the original temple, and has an opening at the top to emit smoke from the fire. Behind the temple can be seen an oak tree which is intended to remind the viewer of the ancient *lucus Vestae* which originally covered the area between the *Atrium Vestae* and the *Palatine*.

The *Atrium Vestae* was situated next to the *aedes Vestae* and, like the temple, was re-built on a number of occasions. A brief description of its history has been mentioned in Chapter II and a more detailed description of its history and layout will be given in the next chapter; however, in short, a republican atrium, of which some traces dating to the second century BC. were uncovered, was re-built during the early Empire following the disastrous fire in the reign of Nero. This new Atrium was larger and of a different orientation to the Republican Atrium, and comprised a trapezoidal enclosure with a central court surrounded on three sides by rooms. This arrangement was varied by Domitian who added a colonnade round the court, a long narrow *piscina* down the centre, and re-built the west wing. Hadrian built a block of rooms across

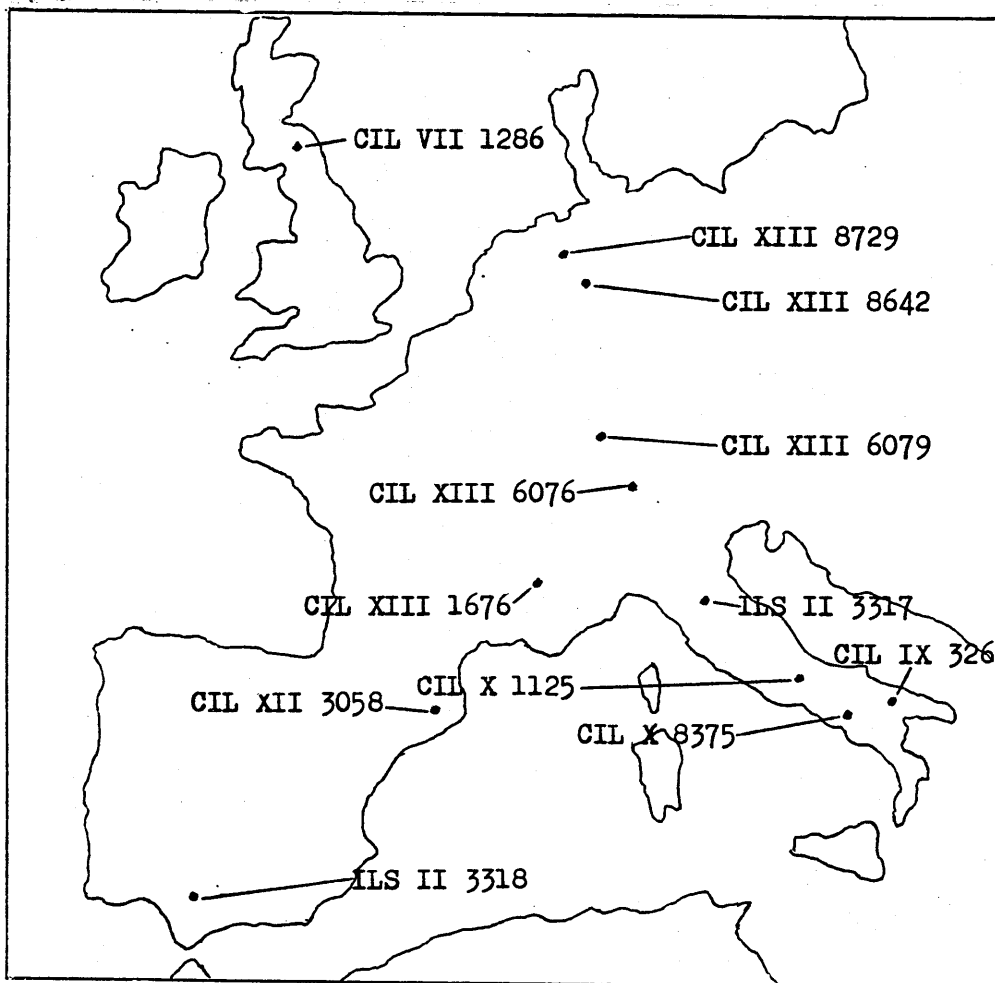
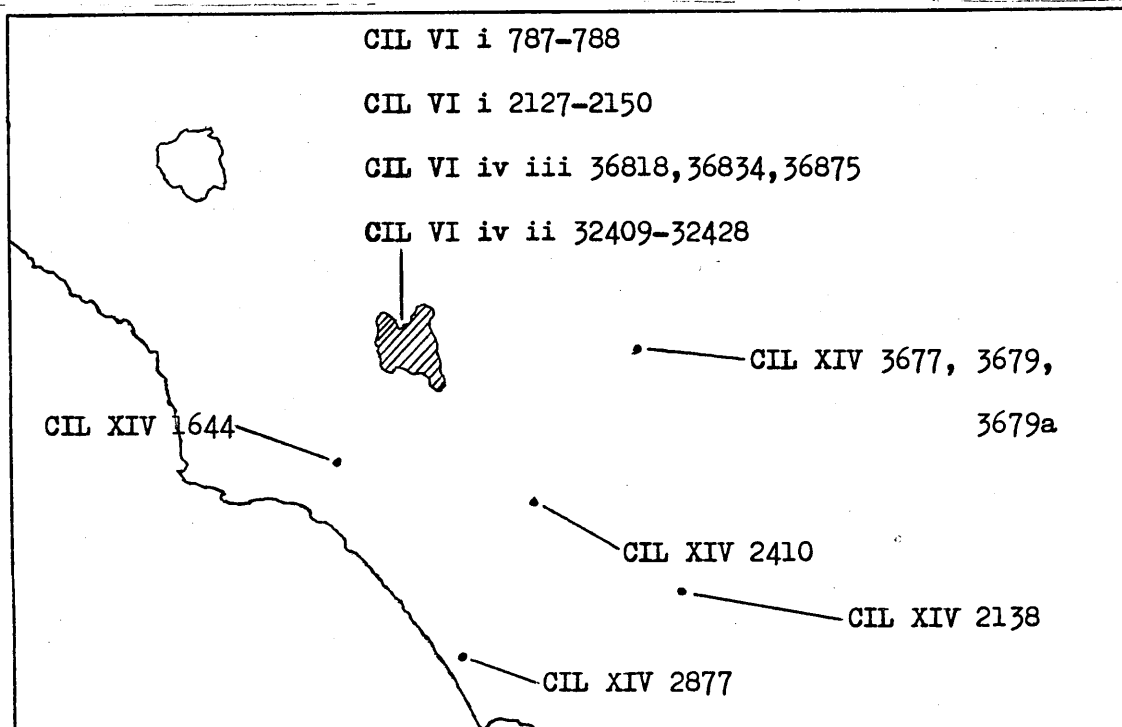
the east end as well as new walls to the south, to lessen the damp which resulted from additions he built to the Domus Tiberiana. Under the Antonines a second and third storey were added and the Atrium acquired its final form during the reign of Septimius Severus when the courtyard was lengthened and arches spanning the Nova Via were constructed. However, like the temple, only the foundations and a few fragments have survived⁴⁹.

These ruins are the only identifiable remains of the cult of Vesta which have been found, not only in Rome, but elsewhere in the Roman world. Whilst it has been suggested that the round temple at Tivoli, which dates from the first century BC., was the focus of the cult which it is known was practised at the classical Tibur, there is no proof that Vesta was worshipped there, and any such identification must, therefore, remain suspect. This lack of any archaeological evidence, together with the dearth of inscriptional evidence earlier than the Empire means that it must be asked whether Vesta was established outside Rome during the Republic and whether her presence in the provinces was a deliberate introduction. With no physical evidence for the cult it is difficult to give a positive answer to the first question but it is significant that Varro⁵⁰ considered Vesta to be a Sabine goddess; this would indicate that her presence at Tibur at least could have been because she was thought to be a native deity. If, as seems likely from the evidence discussed in Chapter 1, Vesta was associated from an early date with Hestia, who had been introduced to Rome through the City's contacts with the Greek colonies of Southern Italy, it would follow that Vesta would have been best known in those

areas of Central Italy with Latin contacts, and may have become identified in turn with a local deity. Outside this area, it is probable that Vesta would not have made any impression on the Greek world since Hestia was established in these parts; however, in the rest of Italy Hestia would not have been so widely known, so the opportunity existed for Vesta to be introduced as Rome expanded her sphere of influence. The evidence from the provinces indicates that the goddess was confined to legionary settlements and *coloniae*, and it is therefore probable that she was introduced, first by the army and then by foreign arrivals. This suggests that Vesta remained a foreign deity and was not assimilated into the body of native deities in the way some of the other Roman gods were absorbed. The absence of any mention of temples or Vestals probably means that Vesta alone was introduced, and it is possible that this represents a deliberate attempt to emphasize the links between the military establishments and the regime in Rome. As will be shown in the next chapter, from the reign of Augustus onwards, she was deliberately associated with the imperial family and, as well as being a symbol of the Empire, became also a symbol of the legitimacy of the imperial style of government. The existence of the festival of Vesta in military calendars which were drawn up by Augustus and his successors therefore suggests that Vesta was regarded as an instrument to seal the loyalty of the legionary settlements to the emperor and his family, and may also have become associated with emperor-worship. This last may also explain why in some inscriptions she is called "Vesta Augusta" as it could indicate the special relationship which was fostered by the Emperors and was strengthened by emperor-worship.

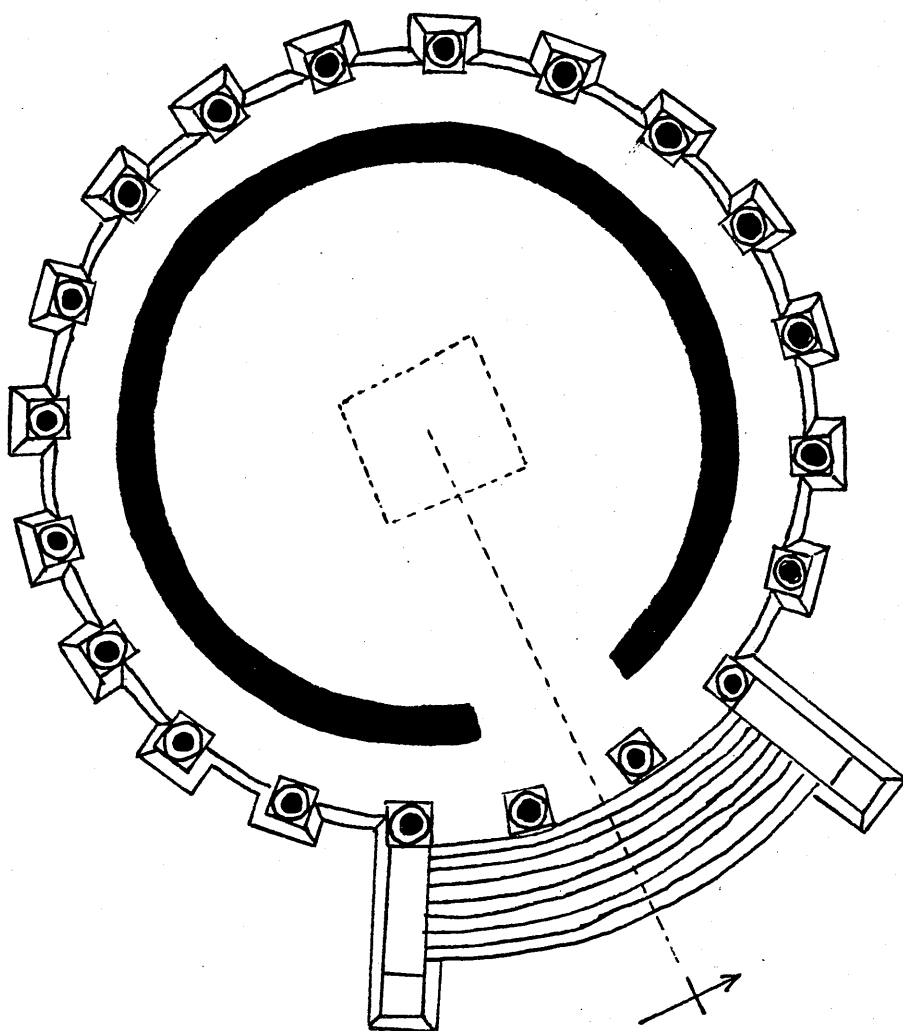
The evidence of classical literature, inscriptions and archaeology show that Rome was the most important location of the cult of Vesta, and the temple in the Forum its centre. Outside Rome, the amount of evidence drops sharply; there are indications that the cult was practised in Lavinium and Tibur and was known in other towns in Italy, though it is not mentioned in the Greek world and only occasionally in the Western Roman Empire. It is therefore clear that the influence of the goddess was based on her venerable cult in the capital of the Empire, and that her appearance in the West was confined to those areas where Roman influence was paramount.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CULT OF VESTA IN THE WEST

1. Inscriptional evidence from the Western Mediterranean2. Inscriptional evidence from the vicinity of Rome

APPENDIX 2

PLAN OF THE AEDES VESTAE



Scale: 1cm. = 1.5m.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.

1. See Appendix II no.112
2. See Appendix II no,31
3. See Appendix II no.109
4. See Appendix II no.3
5. See Appendix I no.46
6. See Appendix II no.29
7. See Appendix II no.18
8. See Appendix II no.228
9. See Appendix II no.221
10. See Appendix II no.27
11. See Appendix II no.139
12. See Appendix I nos.4, 5
13. See Appendix I nos. 8, 9
14. See Appendix I no.10
15. See Appendix I nos. 13, 14
16. See Appendix I nos. 18, 20
17. See Appendix I nos. 27, 28
18. See Appendix I no.29
19. See Appendix I nos. 30, 31
20. See Appendix I nos. 32, 33, 34
21. See Appendix I no.38
22. See Appendix I no. 40
23. See Appendix I no. 7
24. See Appendix I no. 21
25. See Appendix I no. 11
26. See Appendix I no.12
27. See Appendix I no.22
28. See Appendix I no. 23
29. See Appendix I no. 1

30. See Appendix I no.2
31. See Appendix I no. 51
32. See Appendix I no. 52
33. See Appendix I no. 53
34. See Appendix I no. 54
35. See Appendix I no. 50
36. See Appendix I no. 48
37. See Appendix I no. 49
38. See Appendix I no. 47
39. See Appendix I no. 46
40. See Appendix I no. 62
41. See Appendix I no. 63
42. See Appendix I no. 64
43. See Appendix I no. 65
44. See Appendix I no. 66
45. See Appendix I no. 58
46. M. Green. The Religions of Civilian Roman Britain.
BAR 24 (1976) pp.186, 229
47. A. D. Nock, The Roman Army and the Roman Religious Year.
HTR XLV (1952) pp.194-195
48. Two other fragmentary reliefs are known to have
survived from the Classical period. One was in the
Lateran in the fifteenth century and the other was in
the Villa Negroni in the eighteenth century, but both
have now disappeared.
49. Platner & Ashby. Topographical Dictionary of Rome.
Oxford 1929. The Atrium Vestae pp. 58-60
50. See Appendix II no. 213

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF THE CULT OF VESTA

There are a number of references to the cult of Vesta which show that the goddess was revered, especially during the Empire. References to the cult during the Republic are less common, but these increase during the third, second and first centuries BC.

Many extant references are concerned with the trials of Vestal Virgins for unchastity, the earliest being that of Pinaria during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus when, according to Dio Cassius, the traditional method of execution was introduced¹. The trial and execution of Oppia took place in 484-483 BC.² during the war with Veii, whilst Popilia was executed in 479 BC.³ which, if the date is reasonably accurate, suggests it was part of the aftermath of the Battle of Cremera in which the gens Fabia was all but exterminated by the Veientes. This was followed in 471 BC. by the execution of Urbina which took place during the period of struggle between patricians and plebeians and resulted in the creation of the concilium plebis⁴. These executions all appear to have occurred during periods of political stress and upheaval, which suggests that execution of a Vestal was carried out because it was believed such periods of uncertainty were the consequences of the Vestal's loss of chastity. A trial which did not end in execution occurred in 419 BC.⁵ when Postumia was put on trial, apparently because she tried to introduce more fashion into her dress than the Pontifices considered fitting, since when she was acquitted she was warned to dress and act with more decorum. The next three executions were

carried out in 337 BC., 273 BC., and 266 BC., and involved Minucia, Sextilia and Caparronia respectively⁶; then in 241 BC. occurred the first recorded destruction of the temple of Vesta by fire⁷, an event described by the annalists because of an attempt by Caecilius Metellus, the Pontifex Maximus, to rescue the Palladium from the flames, an attempt which took his sight. The third century may also have seen the "miracle" of Tuccia as described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁸, as Livy⁹ mentions a Tuccia who was accused and convicted of unchastity. According to Dionysius, Tuccia was accused by an unknown person of unchastity and, as her defence, went to the Tiber where she drew up water in a sieve, brought it back to the Forum, and poured it out at the feet of the pontiffs. Subsequently her accuser vanished and was never discovered. Another incident related by Dionysius¹⁰ tells of Aemilia who had the care of the fire but entrusted it to a newly recruited Vestal with the result that the fire went out. The pontiffs instituted an inquiry to discover whether the extinction was due to the unchastity of its keeper, whereupon Aemilia prayed to Vesta for aid, tore a strip from her dress and threw it upon the ashes, where it kindled, so proving her innocence. The date of this incident is unknown, but it most likely belongs to this early period when reliable records are rather scanty.

The early fourth century saw the expansion of Rome temporarily checked by the invasion of the Gauls. This invasion had started in the sixth and fifth centuries with a series of infiltrations into Aemilia and the Romagna, then in 387 BC. a large army of Gauls annihilated the Roman army at the Allia

and marched towards Rome¹¹. The best known account of subsequent events is that of Livy¹² who relates how, during the panic preceding the arrival of the Gauls, it was decided that the Flamen Quirinalis and the Vestals should take what holy objects they could carry (the remainder being stored in jars and buried), and seek sanctuary in Caere. As they toiled towards the Janiculum they were seen by L. Albinus, a man of humble birth, who was driving his wife and family in a cart. Albinus, considering it an impious thing that his family should be riding while the Vestals were walking, ordered his family out of the cart and, taking up the Vestals together with the holy objects, drove them to Caere. Once the Gauls were driven out, the Vestals returned and continued the cult in its place in the Forum.

The Second Punic War saw a number of incidents involving the cult of Vesta. Following a succession of portents in 217 BC. a lectisternium was held at which Vesta and Vulcan occupied one of the six couches¹³. Then, during the aftermath of Cannae in 216 BC., two Vestals, Opimia and Floronia were found guilty of unchastity¹⁴: one was executed, the other committed suicide, while the man accused of seducing Floronia, L. Cantilius was beaten to death by the pontifex maximus. This incident, coming after the shattering blow of Cannae led to one of the few recorded instances of human sacrifice in Roman history, as two Greeks and two Gauls were buried in the Forum Boarium, on the advice of the Sibylline Books, to appease the gods. In 210 BC., fire again threatened the temple of Vesta, but destruction was averted through the efforts of thirteen slaves who were later manumitted¹⁵;

however, disaster was again portended in 206 BC. when the fire of Vesta was extinguished due to the carelessness of the Vestal entrusted with guarding it¹⁶. She was scourged by order of the Pontifex Maximus, P. Licinius, and a day of prayer at the temple and sacrifices was declared. Towards the end of the Punic Wars, omens and prodigies of such fearfulness were seen that the stone of the Magna Mater was brought to Rome. According to Livy¹⁷ the ship carrying the stone was met at Ostia by a deputation of married women led by Claudia Quinta, who up to then had a dubious reputation, and was escorted by them to the Palatine. However, according to Herodian¹⁸ the ship stuck and refused to move, whereupon a priestess of Vesta who was under suspicion of unchastity was brought onto the scene, threw her sash over the prow of the ship and, after praying that if she was innocent the ship would respond, drew the ship up the river. It therefore seems possible that originally the story had no link with the Vestals, but later the story was inflated and the main character was identified as a Vestal to add drama to it.

The most notable incidents concerning the cult during the second century BC. occurred in 143 and 114-113 BC. In 143 BC Appius Claudius Pulcher was awarded a triumph over the Salassi. When a hostile tribune tried to drag him from his chariot his daughter, a Vestal, climbed into the chariot with him to prevent any further attacks¹⁹. Then in 114 BC, there started one of the most notorious Vestal trials which is more fully discussed in Chapter II. The year had seen a number of supernatural happenings and had culminated in the destruction of Cato's army in Thrace. The popular explanation for this setback was misconduct among the Vestals, so

in December 114 BC. three of their number. Aemilia, Licinia and Marcia were put on trial and Aemilia was convicted. The acquittal of the other two outraged public opinion and at the beginning of 113 BC. the tribune Sex. Peducaeus introduced a measure censuring the pontifex maximus and college of pontiffs for faulty judgement. Following this a special tribunal, headed by L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla, was set up to re-open the case, with the result that Licinia and Marcia were also convicted. As mentioned earlier²⁰ the case must also be seen in the light of the political manoeuvrings of the senatorial aristocracy, specifically an attack upon the then supreme Metellan faction by using the possible unchastity of the Vestals as a weapon.

The first century BC. saw a number of incidents involving the cult, the most famous being the murder of Scaevola the Pontifex Maximus outside the temple by order of Marius the Younger in 82²¹. At the same time the young Julius Caesar was assisted by the Vestals after his refusal to divorce Cornelia on the order of Sulla²²; their intervention persuaded the dictator to drop the matter. In 63 BC. the Vestals offered sacrifices in Cicero's house at which Dio Cassius relates the fire shot up to a great height, contrary to the usual custom, indicating the end of Catiline's conspiracy²³ and in 62 BC²⁴ the Vestals were present at the celebration of the festival of Bona Dea which was gatecrashed by Clodius in female disguise. In 48 BC. the civil disturbances due to the antagonism of Dolabella and Trebellius reached such a level that the Vestals had to carry the sacred objects from the temple²⁵; in 43 BC. a bull which was being sacrificed by the Vestals to appease

the gods following an earthquake jumped up after the ceremony, an event which further terrified the population²⁶, and in 42 BC. the Vestals were granted the honour of a lictor each after one of them was insulted while returning home after dinner²⁷. During the hostilities between Octavian and Sextus Pompeius there were so many deserters to the latter's cause that the Vestals prayed that their desertions might be checked²⁸, whilst at its conclusion the treaty drawn up by both sides was deposited with them for safe-keeping²⁹, only to be removed from their care in 38 BC.³⁰ by Octavian when he heard of the ravaging of Volturnum. It is therefore clear from these isolated references that the cult was active throughout the Republic and was venerated highly enough for the misdoings of its priestesses, whether intentional or unintentional, to be regarded with grave misgivings, and unusual happenings with terror.

Coinage depicting the cult of Vesta did not appear until the last century of the Republic. In 69 BC. a denarius of P. Galba, minted in Rome, shows on its obverse the head of Vesta facing right with the letters "SC" behind and a border of dots³¹. Later in 63 BC. the mint of Rome produced a denarius with the head of Vesta facing left wearing a veil and diadem, the reverse showing a voter standing left and dropping a tablet marked "V" into a cista.³² The moneyer was L. Cassius Longinus, Proconsul in 48 BC. and the coin probably alludes to the Vestal trial of 113 BC which was presided over by his ancestor L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla, as does a denarius of Q. Cassius, minted in Rome in 55 BC. which shows on the obverse the head of Vesta facing right wearing a veil with the legends

"Vesta" and "Q. Cassius"³³. The reverse of the last coin is particularly interesting as it depicts the temple of Vesta, which is shown with six pillars and seven ribs visible on the curved roof; the roof itself is decorated with what looks like finials and a statue stands on the top. Whilst there are later coins which show the temple, this is the only one which portrays the Republican temple, and is valuable on this account.

As has been outlined in the previous chapter archaeological evidence for the form and extent of the temple and Atrium Vestae in the Republican period is very scanty due to its being overlaid by Imperial remains. Van Deman³⁴ has considered that the complex formed four distinct parts; the rooms to the north of the temple area which, after their reconstruction in 36 BC. by Domitius Calvinus, formed the Regia, the aedis Vestae, the rooms to the south which formed the Atrium, and those on the east which constituted the Domus Publica and in which the Pontifex Maximus resided until Augustus handed them over to the Vestals in 12 BC. In addition the lucus Vestae covered the area between the Atrium and the Palatine, but this was gradually reduced as the Atrium expanded and the Imperial palaces were constructed. The remains of the Republican Atrium which have survived are recognisable because of their difference in orientation and construction. The earliest Atrium occupied the area between the temple to the north, the lucus Vestae to the south, the precinct of Juturna to the west and the Domus publica to the east, and was oriented north to south. That part of the Atrium which has survived comprised a small vestibule and a

series of rooms along two sides of it. The court opened directly from the temple area and was about 20m. long and 8m. wide; it had a mosaic pavement made of white limestone into which were set at irregular intervals larger pieces of coloured marble. To the south of the court were five or six small rooms each about 4m. long and varying in width from 2.50 - 4m., whilst other rooms, whose dimensions cannot be ascertained, were situated to the west, and in a room on the south-west was a rectangular basin resembling an impluvium. Republican remains of the aedes Vestae are confined to a pozzo found by Bartoli³⁵ in the temple area, and are largely fragmentary, comprising vases, unguent jars, statuettes, bronzes, tesserae, coins which have been assigned to the third and second centuries BC. and animal remains.

With the downfall and death of Antony in 31-30 BC., Octavian became the undisputed master of the Roman world. The rest of his life was spent in the consolidation of his power, particularly in the spheres of politics and religion. His assumption of political power during the next 20 years was paralleled by his efforts in religious affairs. In the *Res Gestae*³⁶ he states that in his sixth consulship (i.e. in 28 BC) he rebuilt 82 temples. As well as the promotion of deities such as Apollo, to whom he founded a temple on the Palatine in 36 BC., and Mars Ultor, to whom he ordered a temple to be built in 20 BC., he paid particular attention to the cult of Vesta. Suetonius³⁷ records that on the occasion of the election of a new Vestal, he took a solemn oath that if any of his grand-daughters had been eligible he would have proposed her; a move designed as much to encourage those who

were holding back from nominating their own daughters as to emphasize the importance of the cult. Also, on his assumption of the title of Pontifex Maximus following the death of Lepidus in 12 BC., he handed over his official residence in the Forum to the Vestals and established the cult of Vesta in his palace on the Palatine³⁸.

The question of the form of the cult established on the Palatine is a vexed one as the evidence is scanty and open to various interpretations. The major sources concerned are both literary and archaeological. In the first place there is the passage of Ovid who says of 28 April³⁹:

O Vesta, take thy day. Vesta has been received in the house of her kinsman: so have the Fathers rightly decreed. Phoebus owns part of the house; another part has been given to Vesta; what remains is occupied by Caesar himself.

The evidence of this passage is decidedly ambiguous. Whilst Vesta is called Augustus's kinswoman, probably designed to flatter the Emperor by referring to the divine antecedents claimed by Caesar, Ovid also states that Apollo was situated, together with the goddess, in Augustus's house. This seems to contradict literary and archaeological evidence of a separate temple to Apollo on the Palatine and therefore calls into question his assertion that Vesta was located in the Imperial palace. Secondly, there is the evidence of the Fasti Ceretani and the Fasti Praenestini, both of which were studied, and their texts restored, by Mommsen. The Fasti Ceretani thus reads⁴⁰:

Loedi Fer(ise) q(uod) e(o) d(ie) sig(num) Vest(ae)
in domo p(ontifici) dedic(atum)

though an alternative interpretation substitutes P(alatina) for p(ontifici)⁴¹, while the Fasti Praenestini reads⁴²:

Ludi Florae. Feriae ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) quod
eo die aedicula et ara / Vestae in domu Imp
Caesaris Augusti pontif(icis) max(imi) dedicatast
Quirinio et Valgio co(n)s(ulibus).

In addition, there are those who have argued⁴³ that the reliefs shown on two works of sculpture which have been assigned to the Augustan period, the Sorrento Base and the Palermo Stone⁴⁴, portray not only the close relationship between Vesta and the Emperor, but also the interior of the Palatine temple.

The Sorrento Base depicts the Vestals against an architectural background, behind which can be seen a curtain, an Ionic portico and a circular temple, the last of which has been identified as the temple of Vesta with the Palladium inside. On the front of the base is shown the Genius of the Emperor with on one side Mars Ultor and Cupid; it is possible that Venus Genetrix appeared on the other side, though this figure is now missing. On the two long sides are portrayed Magna Mater and Vesta with the Vestals, whilst on the back is depicted Apollo with Diana and Latona. The scene depicting Vesta shows her seated on a throne with her head veiled and an object, probably a patera, in her extended right hand. A veiled woman standing at her right has been identified with Livia, whilst on her left are assembled a group of five Vestals, identified by their suffibula, and another figure standing by Vesta's right hand has been conjectured to be either an attendant or the sixth Vestal. These scenes

indicate the link between the Emperor and his family and the goddess, whilst the temple in the background could be either the aedes in the Forum or the supposed Palatine temple. The other sculpture which depicts a similar scene, the Palermo Relief, is of roughly the same date as the Sorrento Base and shows Vesta seated on the left with a group of four Vestals. The right half of the scene contains a single togate figure who stands before Vesta with hand outstretched. This figure has been identified as that of the Emperor in his role as Pontifex Maximus; his hand is extended to hand over a statuette, now represented only by an attachment, to the Virgo Vestalis maxima. It has been suggested that this scene, as well as indicating the close association between the Emperor as Pontifex Maximus and the goddess, which can also be seen in the Sorrento Base, goes further by showing the ceremony which established the temple of Vesta on the Palatine⁴⁵.

It is clear, therefore, that the cult of Vesta was dedicated on the Palatine, but the question remains whether it took the form of a separate temple or merely a room set aside in Augustus's house. The interpretation of the Fasti by Mommsen, though later corrected by Degrassi, would lean towards the former solution, re-inforced by the appearance of a temple on the Sorrento Base. Degrassi himself considers that the temple in question is the aedes Vestae in the Forum and the scene depicted on the Sorrento Base and Palermo Relief represents a dedication following a reconstruction of its fabric⁴⁶, though there is no mention of such a reconstruction in the Res Gestae. On the other hand, Guarducci⁴⁷ has put forward a highly imaginative hypothesis which hinges on Augustus's desire to construct a carbon copy of the aedes, right down to the

Palladium, this being the missing statuette in the Palermo Relief, on the Palatine. However, such theories depend on the existence of a separate temple on the Palatine, and to date no trace of such a structure has been found, nor are there any contemporary references to its survival during the Empire. In the absence of any physical evidence for a Palatine temple, it seems more likely that Augustus dedicated a room in his house, a theory which appears to be supported by the passage from Ovid since it refers to Apollo, Vesta and Augustus all sharing a part, presumably of Augustus's house. If this is the case, it would suggest that the Palatine cult was a private one for family use only, rather than a public one, especially since there is no indication that it was served by Vestals; it would also follow that the reference to Apollo might refer to a private cult, the public cult being carried out in the temple Augustus founded on the Palatine and whose remains are still extant. The lack of any later evidence of the existence of the cult of Vesta on the Palatine suggests that when the hill was developed by later emperors the cult was not transferred to the imperial palaces, and its presence on the Palatine was discontinued, especially since the venerable aedes was close by in the Forum.

Whilst the cult was being established on the Palatine, the original foundation was playing an important role in the religious revival encouraged by Augustus. The Vestal Virgins, along with the pontifices, were directed to make annual sacrifices at the altar of Fortuna Redux to celebrate his return from the East in 19 BC.⁴⁸ Then in 13 BC., on his return from Spain and Gaul, the Senate decreed that an altar should be

consecrated in the Campus Martius, and further directed that the magistrates, pontifices and Vestals should make an annual sacrifice there. This altar, the Ara Pacis Augustae, the supreme example both of Augustan art and Augustan propaganda, was built in the form of a podium with two horizontal bands, above which rose a square walled enclosure with two entrance walls and two side walls. The scenes on the two ends of the enclosure represent the Lupercal (most of which has been lost), and Aeneas, Tellus and Rome. The scenes on the long sides which show two processions, represent the consecration of the altar on 1 July 13 BC., and it has been suggested that what is being portrayed is the moment when the procession, having approached the altar from the Via Flaminica, divided to pass on each side of it before reuniting at the west end and beginning the dedicatory ceremony⁴⁹. Whilst most of this procession is extant, the scenes on the altar are not; only the left side, fragments of the right and the back survive, both externally and internally, an amount which comprises perhaps one-third of the whole⁵⁰. These fragments show the sacrifice which was made at the dedication of the altar in 9 BC., and on the inner band, are to be seen six female figures wearing tunic and stola, who have been identified with the Vestals since they are known to have attended the consecration, though probably not all at once; at least one would have to stay behind to tend the sacred fire. Two other figures, the Pontifex Maximus and a flamen are also shown⁵¹. On the outside of the altar are shown the animals brought for sacrifice, with their attendants, and the sacrifice itself. The ceremony has been described by G. Moretti as follows:⁵²

the Pontifex Maximus mounted the outer steps and passed through the west entrance, facing the Field of Mars; he then ascended the inner flight of steps to the altar; after him entered the other priests and the Vestals, who placed themselves along the front, as they were represented upon the internal reliefs of the altar and its wings....Here after the purification rites and the recitation of the sacred passages, the victims were slaughtered.

The propaganda enshrined in the scenes from the altar and the enclosures is obvious. The monument portrays not only the homecoming of Augustus but the welding together of the Roman world by the Emperor, who is therefore compared with the legendary Aeneas and Romulus, the progenitor and creator of the Roman people and State, and shares their stature. This message would have been re-iterated at the ceremonies which were carried out by the magistrates, priests and Vestals each year and designed to keep the memory of the splendour of the dedication fresh. The presence of the Vestals at this sacrifice again gives notice of the links that had been forged between the cult and the wellbeing of the imperial house.

Archaeological evidence of the cult during the Empire is confined to the discoveries made in the area of the aedes Vestae and Atrium Vestae in the Forum. The excavations of 1883 which laid bare the Atrium Vestae showed that there had been extensive work done to the Domus Publica to integrate it with the Atrium during the Augustan period, but apart from this no major rebuilding work was carried out, so indicating

that the area of the temple and the Atrium Vestae emerged relatively unscathed from the troubles of the last century of the Republic⁵³. The fabric of the temple was, however, destroyed, along with most of the Forum and ten of the fourteen regions of the Augustan city in the Great Fire of AD.64. The rebuilding which followed must have taken place immediately since Tacitus⁵⁴ states that during the bloodbath attendant upon the murder of Galba in AD.69 his designated successor, Calpurnius Piso, took refuge in the temple of Vesta, from whence he was dragged out by two of Otho's followers and murdered. This reference to the temple being in position, and the obvious necessity for the Vestals to be close at hand to carry out the duties connected with the temple's ritual, would indicate that both the temple and its surrounding buildings were rebuilt at a very early stage in the reconstruction work. These buildings were also on a greater scale than those of their predecessors, and differed from them, not only in materials and methods of construction but in orientation⁵⁵. The length of the new Atrium was more than 70m., not including the garden, which extended another 15-20m. to the east; its width was about 45m. To the north there was a row of shops which appears to have been associated with the Atrium, to the south it was bounded by the Via Nova and to the west by the precinct of Juturna. Its extent to the east is unknown but even so, these dimensions indicate that it had been rebuilt on a far larger scale than its Republican predecessor, thus demonstrating the importance of the cult in the new order. In the centre of the Atrium was a large court, at both sides and possibly to the west of which was a series of rooms. On the east of the court there was an

entrance to the garden beyond; the main entrance to the building was situated on the north. The rooms on the south side of the court contained one large room, identified as the tablinum, with smaller rooms to each side, one of which may have contained the household lares, since in the conventional house they would be placed close to the tablinum. None of the other rooms in the Atrium have been precisely identified.

At a later date, but still in the first century AD., the Atrium was again devastated by fire⁵⁶. The repairs appear to have been carried out during the reign of Domitian, which is not surprising since he took a great deal of interest in the affairs of the Vestals. The main damage to the Atrium was to the area to the west, as excavations have proved that the major work of reconstruction was in this area, and it has been suggested that this part of the building was used by the Vestals for cult purposes. Among the items found in these rooms were fragments of the decorated pottery used by the Vestals for carrying water for sacred and secular use, as well as primitive pottery vessels, one of which contained the remains of a pastry-like substance, which indicates that they may have contained the materials used for sacrifice⁵⁷. It is doubtful whether the rooms formed the domestic kitchens of the household since none of the impedimenta associated with such a use have been found⁵⁸. A basin of curious construction found in one of the rooms has been identified as a drainage sink which would have been used for washing the vessels used in the temple's rituals, since it was long and shallow and drained directly into the sewer below. The Atrium was later extended during the reign of Hadrian by the addition of a group

of rooms to the east comprising a central hall from which three smaller rooms opened on either side, and beyond these rooms two smaller halls or courts which opened directly upon the garden. Apart from these additions however, the structure of the Atrium remained unchanged through the second century.

Literary references to the cult of Vesta during the Empire are concerned mainly with its occasional involvement in political matters and trials of the Vestals for incestum. It is therefore necessary to consider other areas which may give an indication of the popularity and influences of the cult, the most accessible being the coinage. The art of the early Empire had depicted Vesta and her attendants in the company of the Emperor, so conveying the close links which were being forged between the cult and the imperial family. This link was continued on coinage from the second half of the first century onwards. This is not to say that prior to this date Vesta did not appear on imperial coinage since during the reign of Gaius⁵⁹ an as showing on its reverse Vesta veiled and draped, seated facing left on an ornamental throne and holding a patera in her right hand and a long transverse sceptre in her left, was produced in large quantities. Various denominations also appeared during the Civil War of AD.69, ranging from dupondii of Galba to an aureus of Vitellius⁶⁰, but it was during the reign of Vespasian that coins depicting Vesta became more common and were issued with not only the portrait of the Emperor on the obverse, but also those of Titus and Domitian, the last perhaps being an indication of the interest he expressed in the cult. Among coins minted during Vespasian's reign are several which show the temple of

Vesta as it appeared following the rebuilding by Nero. On the denarii is shown simply a round temple with the legend "Vesta", but on an aureus it is shown as having a podium of four steps with four columns and a roof resting on a double "fastigium" and sloping upwards to a point, on top of which is an ornamental figure. Between the two central columns stands a statue, possibly of Vesta, whilst on either side stand other statues. The subject is identified by the legend "Vesta" above the temple⁶¹. Such coins are very valuable for the impression they give of the appearance of the temple during the Empire. There is obviously some free expression involved in the design as there was no statue of the goddess housed within the temple itself, and the two other figures on the coin cannot be identified as having been present in the temple either. A more detailed discussion of these figures will take place later in this chapter.

The Flavian dynasty also saw the beginnings of the association, on coinage at least, of Vesta with the female members of the imperial family. This can first be seen during the reign of Titus when denarii and dupondii with a bust of his daughter Julia on the obverse and Vesta draped and seated left, holding the Palladium in her right hand and a transverse sceptre in her left, were produced⁶². It has been suggested⁶³ that these coins refer to a bestowal upon Julia of the honours of the Vestal Virgins, a precedent having been set during the Julio-Claudian dynasty (e.g. in AD.37 Gaius conferred these honours upon his sisters, Drusilla, Julia and Agrippina)⁶⁴. It has also been suggested⁶⁵ that the association of Vesta and the Palladium with Julia was intended to link the eternity of Rome

with the (hoped-for) eternity of the Flavian line. This association of Vesta with Julia was continued during the reign of Domitian when a tetradrachm from the imperial mint of Asia linked the deified Julia with Vesta. Whether Domitian's relationship to Julia was purely avuncular or not (and contemporary gossip held it was not), he honoured Julia on several coins, though he himself preferred other deities, such as Minerva, on his coinage⁶⁶. These trends were continued during the reign of Trajan when there were several issues with Vesta on the reverse. Those with Trajan's head on the obverse are denarii commemorating his third, fourth and fifth consulships in AD.100, 101 and 103; their reverses depict Vesta, sometimes veiled and draped, sometimes not, seated facing left and holding either a patera in the right hand and a torch in the left, or the Palladium in her right hand and a sceptre in her left⁶⁷. In addition a series of aurei portrayed Trajan's wife Plotina on the obverse and on the reverse Vesta, again holding Palladium and sceptre and perhaps again intended to link the security of the Empire with the imperial family⁶⁸. There is in existence, however, another denarius which portrays neither Trajan nor Plotina, and is of interest in a study of representations of the cult. This coin portrays the temple, this time showing six columns, with a sloping roof and a statue above, holding a patera and sceptre, and probably to be identified with Vesta since she is depicted elsewhere holding them. The rest of the coin shows a curule chair in the temple, a two-handed urn to the right and a tablet inscribed "AC". The obverse shows a veiled and draped bust of Vesta and the legend "Q.CASSIVS". This issue probably has links with other issues of coins showing

Republican subjects that are to be found during this reign, and probably refers back to the first century BC. when coins struck by the moneyer L.Cassius were in circulation⁶⁹. The presence of these Republican restorations during this reign has led to the suggestion⁷⁰ that Trajan called in the Republican denarii still in circulation in order to benefit from their silver content of over 90%; certainly Republican coins, other than those of Mark Antony, disappear from hoards after this time.

However, it is during the second century that Vesta is to be found associated almost exclusively with the female members of the imperial house. During the reign of Hadrian a series of sestertii and dupondii were minted which depict on the obverse the bust of Sabina and on the reverse Vesta, sometimes veiled and draped, at other times only draped, seated facing left and holding the Palladium in her right hand with a sceptre in her left⁷¹. The reign of Antoninus Pius saw the production of a series of denarii depicting Antoninus himself celebrating his fourth consulship in AD.145, with on the reverse Vesta, veiled and draped, standing facing left and holding a simpulum in her right hand and the Palladium in the left⁷². A variant depicts her standing facing left, sacrificing out of a patera held in her right hand over a lighted altar and again holding the Palladium in her left. These coins are outnumbered, though, by a large number of denarii, sestertii, dupondii and aurei with Faustina I, Faustina II and Lucilla on the obverse⁷³. The reverses of these coins show a number of variations. Starting with the aurei, these show Vesta veiled and draped, seated facing left, holding the Palladium in her

right hand and a sceptre in her left. The denarii show her veiled and draped, and standing left; her implements are either the Palladium in her right hand and a sceptre in her left, or a simpulum in her right hand and the Palladium in her left. There is also a series depicting Vesta veiled and draped, standing facing left and holding a patera in her right hand and a sceptre in her left, and another with her veiled and draped and standing facing left, holding a patera in her right hand and sacrificing over a lighted altar. In both of these scenes she holds the Palladium in her left hand. The sestertii depicts these scenes also, but they do have their own variants. In one Vesta is veiled and draped and stands left, holding a long torch in her right hand and the Palladium in her left; in another she is veiled, draped and stands left, sacrificing out of a patera in her right hand over a lighted altar and holding a lighted torch in her left hand. The dupondii have two further variations showing her with a torch in her right hand and the Palladium in her left, and standing facing left by a lighted altar holding a simpulum and the Palladium. These various types are in fact variations on two basic themes, the one showing Vesta standing and holding implements, the other showing her sacrificing. Her range of implements is also limited to five; the Palladium, sceptre, patera, torch and simpulum. All the designs are permutations of these themes, and the diversity of the designs is an indication of the number of coins that were produced, and the favour and esteem with which the cult of Vesta was viewed. These types were continued during the reign of Marcus Aurelius when denarii and dupondii of Faustina II again

showing Vesta with Palladium and sceptre or simpulum were issued, and denarii of Lucilla showing Vesta veiled and draped, sacrificing out of a simpulum in her right hand over a lighted altar and holding the Palladium in her left, were in circulation.

With the death of Commodus and the eventual accession of Septimius Severus a new dynasty was established which saw the beginnings of a period of profound religious change, with the increasing popularity of neo-pythagoreanism and Christianity⁷⁴. In this environment it is interesting to see that a number of coins of various denominations with Julia Domna's image feature Vesta on the reverse⁷⁵. One type seen in previous reigns, showing Vesta veiled and draped, seated left on a throne holding the Palladium in her right hand and a sceptre in her left, are found on aurei, denarii and sestertii; all have the simple legend "Vesta". Another type, found on aurei, denarii, sestertii and dupondii have the legend "Vesta Sanctae", and shows Vesta standing and holding patera and sceptre. The most detailed coins have the legend "Vesta Mater", which appears to be a deliberate attempt to represent Julia Domna as a living equivalent of Vesta and to focus upon her as embodying the virtues of the goddess⁷⁶. These detailed coins concern themselves with the life of the temple and show it as it was after its rebuilding during this period, following a disastrous fire during the reign of Commodus, when the Vestals had to take refuge, carrying the sacred objects, in the imperial palace. A denarius portrays the temple with four columns, a standing statue on the roof and a seated statue in the centre. In the foreground is a

figure, possibly representing Julia Domna, veiled and draped, sacrificing out of a patera held in her right hand over a lighted and garlanded altar and holding a box in her left hand. An aureus shows a similar scene but, instead of one figure there are four; two veiled and draped, stand left and right, dropping incense from their right hands over a lighted and garlanded altar and holding boxes in their left hands. Flanking these figures are four others, again veiled and draped. This scene is shown again on a dupondius⁷⁷. The policy of promoting Julia Domna continued during the reign of Caracalla when denarii and sestertii with the legend "Vesta" and showing the goddess with Palladium, simpulum or sceptre were produced. Aurei, sestertii and dupondii also appear, again with the legend "Vesta" and showing the temple with four columns, a statue on the roof and another in the centre. In the foreground are four figures, possibly Vestals, accompanied by two children, who are sacrificing over a lighted and garlanded altar. However, Caracalla also chose to link himself with Vesta since there are extent aurei depicting the bust of Caracalla on the obverse and on the reverse the temple of Vesta, again with four columns, a statue on the roof and another in the centre, and in the left foreground Caracalla, attired in military garb, sacrificing out of a patera held in his right hand over a lighted and garlanded altar in the centre. As well as Caracalla, eight other figures appear on the coin; one flamen, two priests, two boy attendants, one unidentified figure in the foreground, and two more in the background. The legend on this coin refers to his fourth consulship⁷⁸ and seventeenth tribunate, which would date it to a period after AD.211. It is interesting

to note that, unless some of the unidentified figures are Vestals, none appears in the company of the Emperor; perhaps it was felt that their depiction was more appropriate on coins of the female members of the family.

Vesta was also honoured by the female relatives of Julia Domna. Coins of Julia Maesa show on the obverse Vesta veiled, standing and holding the Palladium and a sceptre⁷⁹, while those of Julia Soaemias show the goddess again standing, holding the Palladium and a sceptre, or seated left, holding a simpulum and sceptre⁸⁰. Julia Mamaea's coins show Vesta veiled, standing left, holding either Palladium and upright sceptre or patera and transverse sceptre, and also seated left holding Palladium and sceptre⁸¹. Also extant are coins of two of Elagabalus's wives, Julia Paula and the ex-Vestal Aquilia Severa. Those of Julia Paula show Vesta, again standing left, holding patera and sceptre⁸², whilst those of Aquilia Severa show the goddess standing left, holding a branch and sceptre⁸³. Following the Severan dynasty coins depicting Vesta become fewer. During the reign of Aemilian coins of Cornelia Supra were minted showing Vesta veiled, standing left, holding patera and transverse sceptre, and seated left, holding the Palladium and a transverse sceptre⁸⁴. The reigns of Valerian and Gallienus provide coins which show, in the case of Valerian, Vesta standing left, holding patera and sceptre⁸⁵, and in the case of Gallienus, Vesta standing left, holding simpulum and sceptre or wreath and sceptre⁸⁶, while another series, with the legend "Vesta Felix" shows Vesta standing or seated left, holding simpulum and sceptre⁸⁷. However, the most numerous examples are to be found in the coins of Gallienus's wife Salonina; the types comprise Vesta,

seated left, holding a Victory and palm, raising a veil and holding a sceptre or holding patera and sceptre⁸⁸ and standing left, holding patera and sceptre or patera and torch⁸⁹.

Contemporary with these coins is an aureus of the Western Emperor Postumus, minted at Lugdunum in AD.263, which shows the Emperor standing left with a citizen and a child, sacrificing on an altar before another child and two Vestal Virgins, one holding a box of perfumes⁹⁰. Following this period, Vesta coins seem to have died out; certainly the quality of those remaining coin types declined and the number of mints increased, whilst reverse types proliferated until the time of Diocletian, when his reforms established Jupiter and Hercules, and their attributes, as the predominant types.

The types and distribution of these coins show that for at least two centuries succeeding dynasties strove to identify themselves and their empresses with the cult of Vesta.

To the Emperor, an identification with the cult was necessary owing to his position as Pontifex Maximus, and also because the cult was continually portrayed in Roman poetry and literature as being the guardian and embodiment of the safety of the Roman State, through the sacred hearth and the Palladium.

It was therefore natural that the Emperor should wish to emphasize his association with these sentiments through the goddess that inspired them. In addition, it is interesting that coins with the Emperor on the obverse and Vesta on the reverse appear more frequently at the beginning of the dynasty than later; for instance, there are more of such coins from the reign of Trajan than Marcus Aurelius, and of Septimius Severus than Alexander Severus. It is therefore possible that

Vesta's links with the Emperor was also necessary to guarantee the legitimacy of the reign. The start of this policy is probably to be found with the Flavians, since their dynasty was founded on the victory of the strongest following civil war. Augustus and his successors had not needed such legitimacy since their line was based on succession from Julius Caesar, but the Flavians themselves had no such blood link. It was therefore necessary for them to bolster their reign by association with a deity who represented the wellbeing and survival of the Roman State, and who had been favoured by the Julio-Claudians, a role which Vesta filled admirably.

The frequency with which Vesta appears on the reverse of coins of the emperors is interesting as an indication of the popularity of the cult. A. D. Nock, in his study "A Diis Electa: A Chapter In the Religious History of The Third Century"⁹¹, has analysed the dedicatory inscriptions on statues of the Chief Vestals discovered in the Atrium Vestae and shown that a number of them, dating from the early and middle parts of the third century, contain highly commendatory descriptions of the Vestals' chastity and the performance of their duties, as well as the blessings that are received by the state thanks to their excellence. There are also a number of inscriptions set up by recipients of official posts which indicate that the Chief Vestal played some part in their preference. The idea about the worth of the Vestals are not new, going back as they do to the earliest written references to the cult, but it is interesting that these sentiments manifest themselves at this period and in this way. The association of the imperial family must have been a contributory factor, and the link with the female members, both through the coinage and the award to

many of them of the honours and privileges of the Vestals will have done much to advance the prestige of the cult. Nock⁹² considers that the evidence of coinage and inscriptions suggests a date of the third century for the rise of the cult; however, the existence of large numbers of Vesta coins before this period and the fact that the bulk of those surviving inscriptions, dating from the second century, show their greatest extravagance at the end of that century, suggest that the first half of the third century saw the cult at its height, encouraged by a considerable amount of imperial favour. This popularity will have been accentuated by the political and religious uncertainties of one of the most troubled periods of Roman history, which meant that people looked with longing for a cult which represented stability. Christianity made great strides in the third century; it is not surprising that the most stable, conservative and patriotic cult was also favoured.

The end of the second and beginning of the third centuries saw, therefore, the most complete identification of the imperial dynasty with the cult of Vesta through the patronage, first of Julia Domna, and then of Elagabalus. Julia Domna's coins are the first in which a member of the imperial family is shown sacrificing to Vesta, and they are also important in showing the rebuilding of the temple with her encouragement following the fire during the reign of Commodus. There is also a powerful piece of propaganda attendant on this action; the cult which was imperilled during the previous dynasty was safeguarded by the new one. The detailed representation of the temple on these coins is particularly interesting since, on all coins from the Republic onwards, it is shown with a figure

on the roof, and from the reign of Nero onwards, with another inside, features which appear on the new temple built by the Severans. The presence of statues seems to be contradicted by Roman authors who claimed there was no statue inside the temple. Ovid, for instance, says⁹³:

Long did I foolishly think that there were images
of Vesta: afterwards I learned that there are none
under her curved dome. An undying fire is hidden
in that temple; but there is no effigy of Vesta
nor of the fire.

Whilst Ovid does not categorically state that no statue appeared on the outside of the building, a small shrine outside the temple has been interpreted as the repository of a statue of the goddess, in lieu of any other associated with the cult⁹⁴. The differences in the architecture of the temple shown on the coins are probably due to alterations and embellishments following each fire, but the presence of statues when none are said to exist must admit to one of three options: firstly, that they did not exist, but were put on the coins to fill up spaces or to add symmetry, secondly that they represented objects already kept in the temple and, thirdly, that they were statues of the goddess and that contemporary writers were mistaken. Of these options, the first can immediately be discarded, since it is doubtful if the Romans, after carefully delineating the appearance of the temple, then included fictitious statues. If it is accepted, therefore, that these coins bore the representation of something associated with the temple, the question is whether these statues had always been kept in the temple or whether they were representations first produced during the Empire.

It is certainly possible that one of the statues represented the Palladium, as the depiction of this emblem of the security of the state would be entirely in accord with the policy of successive emperors to be regarded generally as the protectors of the survival of the empire. The Palladium is likely to have been the statue portrayed inside the temple since this is where it was kept, which also suggests that the statue depicted on the roof was one of Vesta. If it is accepted that the coins show a faithful representation of the temple at the time they were minted, it follows that Ovid is correct in saying there was no statue of the goddess inside the temple, but omitted to state there was one outside. The actual position of this latter statue would probably have been over the entrance, as the opening in the roof would make it impossible to place a statue in the centre. However, it is also possible that the statue represented on top of the temple was, in fact, the statue contained in the shrine at the entrance to the temple, which was included on the coins because it was a part of the temple precinct. As this hypothesis cannot be proved it must therefore be concluded that, whereas the statue inside the temple was probably that of the Palladium, the identity of the statue on top of the temple cannot be ascertained with confidence.

As well as rebuilding the temple, Julia Domna was also responsible for the final form of the Atrium Vestae⁹⁵. In this final rebuilding the actual extent of the Atrium was unchanged, since the fire affected only the upper walls, especially those to the west and north-west. There was, however, a reconstruction of the central court in which the colonnade was extended by the destruction of the walls

separating the court from the garden. There were also some alterations made to the area where the sacred implements were washed, as a platform was built in the same room, underneath which were containers for the storage of the implements or for the ashes from the sacred hearth, whilst beside it a narrow stairway which opened directly upon the ramp leading to the Palatine was constructed, the purpose being to facilitate access to the spring of Juturna.

The strong link of the Severan dynasty with Vesta was continued by Caracalla, as can be seen from the aureus showing him sacrificing to the goddess, though this did not stop him from burying Vestals for unchastity⁹⁶, but the most serious attempt at identification was made by Elagabalus, who was regarded by classical writers as a dissolute lunatic⁹⁷, and by some modern scholars as a basically serious religious reformer⁹⁸. The truth about the young Emperor probably falls somewhere in the middle, but what cannot be disputed is that in AD.221 he made a serious attempt at a sacred marriage between Elagabal and Vesta, firstly by taking the Palladium from the temple of Vesta and "marrying" it to his god, and secondly by marrying a Vestal, Julia Aquilia Severa⁹⁹. The sacred marriage of his god did not last long; undoubtedly classical writers were correct in saying that pressure of public opinion (and no doubt a great deal of pressure from his grandmother, Julia Maesa) persuaded him to return the Palladium, on the pretext that an armed goddess was too warlike for his god, and sending instead for the statue of Astarte from Carthage. At the same time as taking the Palladium from the temple, he also took Julia Aquilia Severa from the Atrium Vestae. Herodian¹⁰⁰ states that in his

explanation of his actions to the Senate, Elagabalus claimed that he had been attracted by her charms, though this seems doubtful since, to judge by her coins, she was an unattractive, middle-aged woman. The rest of his explanation, that marriage between a priest and priestess was fitting and sacred, seems to be nearer the truth, especially since her family do not appear to have benefitted from her translation. Neither her father, Aquilius Sabinus, who had been Prefect of Rome in AD.214 and 216, nor her brother Fabius Sabinus, known as the Cato of his age on account of his learning, are recorded as having held any offices during the marriage, though there might not have been enough time to find them any. The date of the marriage can reasonably be fixed during the early months of AD.221; it must have been ended before 20 August 221, since on that date Elagabalus married his third wife, Annia Faustina¹⁰¹. However, he does not seem to have been easily dissuaded since in 222 he married Aquilia Severa again; this re-marriage, though, appears to have been as short-lived as the earlier one.

The importance of this interlude is not to be found in the actions of the Emperor in themselves, but in the fact that the prestige and importance of Vesta under the Severans was such that Elagabalus could conceive of the union with his god at all. To Elagabalus, the establishment of his god with the Roman people was paramount, and it was vitally important for it to have as powerful and prominent a consort as possible. Vesta was the obvious choice, especially since her associations with the Severan family had been promoted by Julia Domna. In this context it may therefore be possible to see Vesta as the family goddess married to Elagabal in order to establish them

as the supreme god and goddess of the Severan dynasty and hence of the Roman state. Roman opinion may not have been opposed to the elevation of the goddess; what it did baulk at was the removal of her chastity which was so necessary to the stability and survival of the empire.

Vesta continued to be venerated after the reign of Elagabalus. The account of the Life of Valerian contained in the *Historia Augusta*¹⁰²., states that he was told by Decius that his authority extended over all the people of Rome except the *consulares ordinarii*, the *rex sacrorum* and the *Virgo Vestalis maxima*; later during the religious reforms of Aurelius, upon the institution of his "*pontifices dei Solis*", the old orders of pontifices were called "*pontifices Vestae matris*". However, with the accession of Constantine and, more particularly, following his victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge in AD.312, the picture changed. The favour shown by Constantine to the Christian Church was contrasted with the increasing disfavour with which he viewed paganism. This change can be seen very clearly in his coin issues. In AD.312 the most common reverses from the mint of Rome showed Mars, Hercules, Sol Invictus and the *Genius Populi Romani*, whilst other mints showed Fortuna, Fides, Concordia and Pax. In AD.317 on the occasion of the announcement of Crispus, the younger Constantine and the younger Licinius as Caesars, the reverses showed Jupiter Conservator and Sol Invictus. It was in AD.320 eight years after the Milvian Bridge, that the old gods disappeared from the coins and were replaced by more abstract qualities such as Victoria, Pax and Pietas¹⁰³. During this period Constantine visited Rome twice, in AD.312 and 315, the second time celebrating the tenth anniversary of his rule.

He had assumed the title of Pontifex Maximus, which gave him authority over the state cults, but during the decennalia he did not allow the traditional ceremonies of thanks to be made¹⁰⁴. In AD.318 he forbade the sacrifices by haruspices in private houses, and in 319 repeated the edict, on the grounds that such practices encouraged superstition and black magic. The second edict, however, allowed freedom of worship to pagans, and this was repeated in the third edict in 320 which again proscribed the private sacrifices, though allowing the haruspices to practise the state religion. It is unclear how far Constantine persecuted the pagans; it is known that he suppressed the temple of Aesculapius at Aegae in Cilicia, famous for its miraculous cures, as well as those of Aphaea and Heliopolis in Phoenicia which were notorious centres of ritual prostitution¹⁰⁵. He did, however, in AD.331, strip the temples of their gold and silver, so enabling him to carry out his currency reforms, and confiscated temple estates though, apparently, the endowments of the temple of Vesta and the ancestral cults of Rome were exempted¹⁰⁶. There is also some evidence that Constantine prohibited sacrifices at some time in his reign, probably near the end when he was fully committed to Christianity, since an edict of Constans in AD.341 which laid down the penalties for public sacrifices, stated specifically that it had been enacted by Constantine. However, sacrifices continued to be performed, as is shown by Constantine II's edict of AD.353 banning nocturnal sacrifices, and that of 356 re-iterating the edict of 341 and ordering all temples to be closed. These years saw the demolition of the temples, so much so that in AD.342 Constans wrote to the Prefect of Rome ordering that the temples of the city should remain intact¹⁰⁷. Such sentiments, however, did not prevent

Constantius removing the altar of Victory from the Senate House during his visit to Rome in AD.357, and again prohibiting pagan sacrifices.

It was left to Julian in his short reign to try to reverse the tide in favour of paganism. His own religious beliefs appear to have been rather confused, but his dedication to paganism and distaste for Christianity are undoubted. Among his first actions on becoming Emperor was to decree freedom of religion for both pagans and Christians which, though foreshadowed by Constantine's own edict of Milan, had a different aim in mind. Ammianus Marcellinus¹⁰⁸ is probably not wildly wrong in suggesting that one of his motives was to set the various Christian factions at each other's throats, so weakening their cause. He also made great efforts to retain the temples and return them to their old use by compelling their owners to restore them, even if it meant recovering parts that had been removed. His major efforts at revitalising paganism were, however, aimed at the reorganisation of the priesthood, which he hoped to direct along Christian lines, with the priests of each city under the authority of an archpriest who would himself be subject to the pontifex maximus of the province, while the last in his turn would be answerable to the Pontifex Maximus of the empire, in the person of the Emperor himself; however, this plan was only in its preliminary stages when Julian died¹⁰⁹. Little is recorded about the cult of Vesta at this period, but there is in existence an anonymous document entitled "Description of the whole world" which possibly dates from this reign, which describes the Vestals as noble and illustrious, and as performing the rites of the gods for the benefit of the state in accordance

with ancient tradition¹¹⁰. It was also during this reign that Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, a leading member of the pagan Roman aristocracy, and a strong supporter of the Vestals, was appointed as governor of Achaia.

The death of Julian in AD.363 saw the return of Christian supremacy under Jovian and then Valentinian and Valens. The last two reversed the policies of Julian but did not suppress paganism, though Valens again prohibited sacrifices in AD.372 after conspiracies against him were discovered¹¹¹. In the west paganism continued and in AD.367 or 368 the Portico of the Dei Consentes in the Forum, who included Vesta among their number, became the last monument to be restored. It was dedicated by Praetextatus, who was by then Prefect of the City¹¹². The possible event which affected the Vestals at this period was the presumed conversion to Christianity of one of their number. The evidence for this is not wholly clear, comprising as it does some lines of Prudentius¹¹³ and a mutilated dedication in the Atrium Vestae¹¹⁴. However, it is just possible that Prudentius was speaking as much in hope as in expectation, since there is no other written record of the conversion, and that the mutilation of the dedication occurred at a later date.

The last great struggle in which the cult of Vesta was involved concerned the attempt to return to Rome the altar of Victory which, after having been returned by Julian, was removed again by Gratian, who in addition had renounced the title of Pontifex Maximus and withdrawn the funds which had been used to maintain the temples, two blows which severely affected the classical cults¹¹⁵. In AD.384, a senatorial

delegation led by Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, the current Prefect of the City, attempted to persuade the new Emperor, the eleven year old Valentinian II to reverse Gratian's measures. Symmachus, through his official position as well as his membership of the senatorial aristocracy, was closely connected with the Roman cults, and several of his letters deal with the cult of Vesta. One which he wrote to a friend expressed his displeasure at the proposal of the Vestals to place a statue of Praetextatus in the Atrium Vestae as this was a break with custom¹¹⁶. He was also active in trying to maintain the morale of the Vestals, and to this end he wrote two letters to one of them, the first concerned with the rumour he had heard that she wanted to be released from her vows, the second expressing his relief at hearing that the rumour was false¹¹⁷, and was involved at one point in the controversy that surrounded a Vestal Virgin from the Alban cult who had confessed to incestum with a certain Maximus, who had also confessed. Symmachus wrote two letters to the official involved with the case urging them to carry out their duty and bury the offender alive, according to the traditional ways of dealing with such lapses¹¹⁸. This interest in the affairs of the cult is also to be found in *Relatio III* which he delivered to Valentinian.

Symmachus's theme was the part played by traditional religion in the maintenance of the state and the duties that were owed them by emperor and people. He pointed out that everyone had their own customs and religious practices and pleaded for toleration. As an example he evidenced the Vestals, who had had their privileges and wealth taken away from them,

regarding it as poor repayment for their service to chastity and their dedication to the wellbeing of the state¹¹⁹. He also complained that the Vestals were now unable to benefit from any private bequests, saying that such bequests could be made to freedmen and even to slaves; such actions against the Vestals put them outside Roman law. He waxed savagely against such injustice¹²⁰:

What is the good of dedicating a holy society to the wellbeing of the state, of buttressing the eternity of the Empire with divine support, of associating friendly virtues with your arms and your regiments, of saying that all may go well with all men, if at the same time you do not deal justly with all men?

He claimed that the disastrous harvests which had ravaged Italy in previous years were due to the neglect of the traditional cults and especially that of Vesta; when free corn was made available to populace and Vestals alike, there had been no famines, which meant that the public maintenance of the priests was in the nature of an insurance rather than a dole¹²¹.

All Symmachus's oratory was of no avail, since Christianity at the court of Valentinian was represented by Ambrose, who had a great deal of influence over him, and who answered Symmachus's appeal in two letters. In the first, which was a general reply to the pagan delegation¹²², he set out in general terms what the attitude of the Christian should be, and warned Valentinian that if he did not adopt this attitude he could expect to be excommunicated from the life of the

Church. In his second letter¹²³ he answered the Relatio point by point, and was particularly scathing about the idea that a Christian emperor should do anything for any pagan foundation, whether it be temple, priesthood or Vestal. As for the Vestals themselves, he scornfully compared their small numbers and thirty year vow of chastity with the thousands of Christian nuns who had made their vows for life. The result of these counter petitions was a foregone conclusion; Valentinian listened but refused to change his pro-Christian stance.

At about this same period, the philosopher Libanius was petitioning the eastern Roman Emperor, Theodosius, in the same vein. The date of this oration is disputed, but the most likely is AD.386, two years after Symmachus's attempts and a year after Theodosius had banned pagan sacrifices for the second time in five years¹²⁴. He starts by sketching the history of religion up to Constantine who, despite his religious legislation which was so disastrous to pagans, set strict legal limits upon the interference to which pagan religion was to be subjected¹²⁵. However, since that reign there had been an erosion of that protection, chiefly as a result of monks who attacked the shrines, actions which were contrary to law and edict as well as detrimental to the social order¹²⁶. The monopoly of the benefits which Christians claimed to confer on mankind was false since it was the continuance of sacrifice in Rome and Alexandria which promoted the safety of the Empire; this had been amply proved by the fate of the house of Constantine and the fame of Julian¹²⁷. In any case the destruction of the temples, which were necessary to both urban and rural society, was pointless and it would be

far better to preserve them as works of art. Finally, he warned that if such aggression continued, pagans would have no other recourse but to take offensive action¹²⁸. This oration of Libanius had a more immediate impact than the *Relatio* of Symmachus since it made its appeal to Roman law whereas Symmachus aimed his at Roman sentiment, and also seems rather half-hearted compared to the more positive tone adopted by Libanius. However, this plea had no more success than that of Symmachus who in that year had retired from politics following the death of Praetextatus and had been succeeded as Prefect of the City by a Christian, Pinianus¹²⁹.

The final act in the struggle between pagan and Christian started on 24 February AD.391 when Theodosius, after receiving a short, sharp reminder of the power of the Church following his ordering of a massacre of the inhabitants of Thessalonica which resulted in Ambrose demanding of him a public penance and debarring him from receiving communion, issued a law addressed to the Prefect of the City, Albinus, forbidding the practice of any pagan cult and prohibiting visits to the temples¹³⁰. A week later he promulgated a special law against pagan cults in Egypt, which resulted in the destruction of the Serapeum in Alexandria. In the West, conflicts between Valentinian II and his comes Arbogast came to a head when a petition of the Senate requesting the restoration of subsidies for pagan cults was favoured by Arbogast but rejected by Valentinian. This was followed by the death of Valentinian in suspicious circumstances and the raising to the throne by Arbogast of the magister scriniorum Flavius Eugenius. Eugenius had taught rhetoric at Rome and was nominally a Christian, but his sympathies lay with the pagan cause. Two Christian poems, the

Carmen adversus Flavianum and the Carmen ad Senatorem, both written some years later, suggest that the accession of Eugenius caused a stampede of Christians to the pagan cults and that processions in honour of Magna Mater and Isis were revived, as was worship of Jupiter, Saturn, Mercury, Vulcan, Mithras, Sol, Liber, Hecate, Serapis, Anubis, Ceres and Proserpina¹³¹. There is no mention in this list of any worship of Vesta, which might be expected if other gods were being revived. These statements appear to be borne out by a fragmentary inscription found in the Temple of Hercules at Ostia, which ignores Honorius and instead mentions members of the aristocratic circle surrounding Symmachus. Whilst Symmachus himself does not appear to have played any part in the revival, his son-in-law Nicomachus Flavianus had become Prefect of the City and led the pagan cause¹³². This revival however, was short-lived. The reaction of Theodosius to these events was, firstly, to ignore Eugenius's peaceful overtures and secondly to promulgate another law against pagan activities, which caused Eugenius to ally himself more firmly with the pagans by restoring public funds to the cults. The following year Theodosius appointed his son Honorius as Emperor of the West, so declaring Eugenius to be a usurper, and moved against him. In AD.394 the armies of Theodosius and Eugenius met on the river Frigidus in northern Italy and Theodosius emerged triumphant. He then informed the Senate that "the treasury was burdened by the expense of the rites and sacrifices, he wanted to abolish them and furthermore military necessity called for additional funds", whereupon he again abolished the pagan religion¹³³.

The history of the fourth century shows that the Vestals were still active enough to be used as an argument against the abolition of paganism right until the end. There is no direct evidence of how active they were since there are no Vesta coins in this century and only one statue in the Atrium Vestae which has been dated to about AD.364. There is, however, evidence of the links between the Vestals and Vettius Agorius Praetextatus and his wife Fabia Aconia Paullina, as in AD.1591, when the house of Praetextatus was uncovered, a pedestal and statue in honour of Coelia Concordia, one of the last of the Vestales Maximae, was found, with an inscription which read¹³⁴:

Fabia Aconia Paullina set up this portrait of Coelia Concordia, the Chief Vestal, not only as a testimonial to her virtue, her chastity and her devotion to the gods, but also as a token of gratitude for the honour conferred by the Vestals upon her husband Praetextatus to whom they have erected a statue in their own atrium.

This statue is paralleled by a male statue discovered in the Atrium Vestae which, although it bears no inscription, is probably that of Praetextatus since no other male statue has been recorded there¹³⁵. These statues would indicate that the link between the Vestals and Praetextatus must have been very strong, and that Praetextatus must have taken an unusual amount of interest in the affairs of the Vestals. Since Praetextatus was also closely linked with Symmachus, it is not surprising that the latter displayed a great amount of interest in the running of the cult. The description that he gives in Relatio III of the poverty of the Vestals appears at

first sight to be doubtful since it is known that they owned property and land and had a number of privileges, including their own dowries given to them on joining the order, which meant that they were extremely wealthy. However, if their property was being confiscated, as is likely from the tenor of the anti-pagan legislation of the time, and if their entitlement to free grain and to receive private bequests had been withdrawn, as is claimed in *Relatio III*, it is quite probable that by the end of the fourth century they were facing penury. Certainly the Atrium seems to have been deserted by them at this period, though whether as a result of Gratian's decree of AD.382 or that of Theodosius in AD.394 cannot be ascertained. It was used as a residence for officials of the imperial and papal court for several centuries, as is shown by a hoard of coins discovered in 1899 and belonging mostly to the fourth and fifth centuries, with the greatest number dating from the reign of the Emperor Anthemius (467-472)¹³⁶. At an unknown date in the ninth or tenth centuries it fell into disuse and was not excavated until the end of the last century. The last reference to a Vestal is to be found in the account by Zosimus of the visit to Rome of Stilicho and his wife Serena, which took place at some time after AD.394, when one was to be found officiating in the Temple of Cybele on the Palatine¹³⁷. It is not known how many Vestals were left when the temple was closed; the letters of Symmachus suggest that morale had been low at an earlier date, which may have been exacerbated by the defection of one of their number to the Christian faith, as is suggested by the mutilated pedestal still to be seen in the Atrium Vestae, and the lines of Prudentius who celebrated the conversion of

the "Vestal Claudia"¹³⁸. If this is so, it may well be that the numbers of the Vestals had shrunk so much through death, defection and lack of replacements, that they would have been unable to keep practising the rites connected with the cult and it died from disuse. Paganism as a whole took more stamping out; decrees abolishing its practice were repeated on a number of occasions throughout the fifth and sixth centuries, and even today some minor deities survive in Italy in the persons of saints.

The period of the Empire saw the cult of Vesta reach its zenith. By assuming the title of Pontifex Maximus and dedicating a room in his own house to Vesta, Augustus forged a new relationship with the cult and linked the safety and wellbeing of the state, which Vesta already protected, to that of the imperial family. This may have resulted in Vesta being regarded as the family goddess. In these circumstances it is not surprising that subsequent emperors awarded the privileges of the Vestals to the female members of the imperial family, as these measures enhanced both parties; the members of the imperial family because the honours and privileges of the Vestals were exclusive to them and not awarded to any other individuals or priesthoods, whilst Vesta and the Vestals were honoured through the link with the ruling family. The Vestals are found playing a greater part in the affairs of the Empire, as, for example, when Vitellius deputed them to go to meet the army of Vespasian to ask for one day's grace in order to re-open negotiations. This relationship with the imperial family also meant, however, that the cult came under greater scrutiny by the emperor in his role as

Pontifex Maximus, and it led to such incidents as those during the reigns of Domitian and Caracalla¹³⁹, when Vestals were buried alive for incestum on very flimsy evidence. The heyday of the cult came in the second and third centuries, as is shown on the coinage, especially of the empresses Sabina, Faustina I and Julia Domna, and in the statues erected to the Chief Vestals by the Senate and by individuals. These statues are supplemented by references to the Chief Vestals in classical writing, so that it is possible to reconstruct in parts the line of the Virgines Vestales Maximae. The earliest recorded was Occia, who was Chief Vestal from 38 BC. to AD. 19.¹⁴⁰ Her successor was Junia Torquata who was Virgo Vestalis Maxima from AD. 19 to AD. 48 and was followed by Vibidia, to whom Messalina turned for protection when her intrigues were discovered by Claudius¹⁴¹. The next Chief Vestal was Cornelia, who was executed for unchastity by Domitian in AD. 90¹⁴². There are very few records of the identities of the Chief Vestals for the next hundred years, apart from inscriptions to Praetextata¹⁴³, who seems to have lived early in the second century AD., since her mother was mentioned by Tacitus¹⁴⁴. Numisia Maximilla appears to have lived at the beginning of the third century and was followed by Terentia Flavola in the second decade¹⁴⁵, and Campia Severina and Flavia Mamilia in the fourth¹⁴⁶. However, the next incumbent, Flavia Publicia achieved considerable fame and veneration, numerous inscriptions having survived¹⁴⁷. Among those pedestals was one dedicated by C. Flavius Apronius, described as "fictor", indicating that his trade was linked to the Vestals' service¹⁴⁸. The end of the

third century saw Coelia Claudiana as Chief Vestal, followed by Terentia Rufilla. Only two are known from the fourth century, one being the mutilated inscription in the Atrium Vestae, the other Coelia Concordia, friend and supporter of Praetextatus. Following her, the line of the Chief Vestals, like everything else relating to the cult of Vesta, is a blank, and they do not appear to have survived the closing of the temples by Gratian in AD.382 and Theodosius in AD.394.

The question of whether there are any aspects of the cult which survived into Christian religion is extremely difficult to answer. The concept of the hearth of Vesta as the security of the state ran counter to the belief of the Christians that only their God could safeguard the empire and that to cease to believe in him would result in its collapse, whilst the most obvious similarity in their organisations, that of the Vestals, was hated by the Christians who regarded the priestesses as a diabolic anticipation of the Christian nuns. The existence of virgins dedicated to the service of God can be found in the Acts of the Apostles and, more specifically, in the persons of the four daughters of Philip¹⁴⁹, whilst by the second century AD. there were communities of virgins in Smyrna and Carthage who were commonly regarded as being the brides of Christ, being called 'virgines Christo maritatae' and "sponsa Christi" by Tertullian¹⁵⁰. These virgins usually lived in the homes of their families and did not distinguish themselves by any form of dress. Whilst originally they were outside the organisation of the Church, by the third century they seem to have been classed as on an equivalent level as deacons¹⁵¹. By the fourth century the forerunners of convents had developed in Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor, Gaul, Africa

and not the least in Rome. These associations gathered around one or two women and devoted themselves to the contemplative life; in Rome, at least, they differentiated themselves from other women by wearing a plain brown dress. The most well-known convent in Rome in the fourth century, made famous in the letters of Jerome, was situated on the Aventine and was led by Albina, an aristocratic and wealthy widow and her daughter Marcella, also a widow. Among its number were Paula and her daughters Blesilla and Eustochium who became closely associated with Jerome during his second visit to the city in AD.382¹⁵². Both Paula and Eustochium followed Jerome after he left Rome in 384, and it was to Eustochium that he wrote, again in 384, laying down the ways in which a Christian virgin should comport herself and extolling virginity as the highest of all states, being preferred by God and avoiding the troubles of life such as marriage and children¹⁵³. In Jerome's view the only good thing to be said for marriage was that it produced virgins¹⁵⁴; marriage diverted partners from prayer which should be their chief thought¹⁵⁵, whilst virgins could spend all their time in contemplation, their vows being for life. Other Christian writers, such as Prudentius, regarded the Vestals as inferior to the Christian nuns since their vows were made for thirty years only, whilst those of the Christian virgins were made for life.

The fact that this tradition goes back to such an early period suggests that the model for Christian nuns must be sought from outside the Christian Church, and the most obvious place to look is the example of the Vestals. The possibility that they provided the model would also explain the ferocity with which they were attacked by Christian writers, since the latter

would be eager to deny any pagan, earthly example, and would prefer a divine inspiration. The advantages to a Christian woman of a Vestal type of organisation was that she could find a contemplative life as part of a defined group within the structure of the Church and did not need to look outside to its nearest pagan equivalent, with the added strength that her commitment was lifelong and not a previously defined span of years. Equally, the Christian contemplative life, by its universality will have attracted those women who previously would have leaned towards the Vestals but who would have been debarred through age and social standing. Therefore it is reasonable to see the Christian nun as a development and refinement of the concept of the pagan Vestal, unfettered by any social distinctions or any limit in the length of service.

It is difficult to believe that a cult so revered as that of Vesta would die completely in a relatively short space of time, but there is no literary or archaeological evidence to suggest it survived into the fifth century. It is possible, however, that some aspects of Vesta became absorbed into the Marian cult. The worship of the Virgin grew steadily through the third and fourth centuries, culminating in her being declared Mother of God at the Synod of Ephesus in AD.431¹⁵⁶, and, as with many Christian cults, she absorbed aspects of existing pagan cults. The epithets of Queen of Heaven, Mater Domini and Regina Maris¹⁵⁷ were also applied to Isis and Diana, which indicates they were absorbed into the person of the Virgin. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Vesta, too, may have added lustre to the Marian cult, though perhaps through her domestic cult rather than her

state-cult, as the state cult had become allied with the imperial family, so much so that the renunciation of paganism by succeeding emperors, culminating in the abandonment of the title of Pontifex Maximus by Gratian, will have dealt a crushing blow to its prestige.

To sum up, whilst it is probable that the cult of Vesta fell into disuse and was finally extinguished at the end of the fourth century, aspects of the goddess and the organisation and prestige of her attendants were absorbed into the person of the Virgin Mary and the institution and concept of the Christian nuns.

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APPENDIX I

INSCRIPTIONAL EVIDENCE FOR THE CULT OF VESTA

I. ROME

1. CIL VI i 786 (=ILS II (1) xi 3314)

*STAE.DONVM.PRO.SALVTE / IVLIAE.AVG.MATRIS / M.ANTONINI.AVG.N.P.M. /
EVTYCHES.FICTOR.CVM.FILII* / VOTO SVSCEPTO

2. CIL VI i 787 (=ILS II (1) xi 3313)

VESTAE.SACRVM / C.PVPIVS.FIRMINVS.ET / MVDASENA.TROPHIME

3. CIL VI i 788 (=ILS II (1) xi 3315)

VESTAE.SACRVM / ANTISTITI / PRAEDIORVM / HELVIDIANORVM

4. CIL VI i 2127

IVNIAE.C.SILANI.F / TORQVATAE.VIR.VEST / MAXIMAE / IVVENIO.L

5. CIL VI i 2128 (=ILS II (1) xi 4923)

IVNONI / IVNIAE.C.SILANI.F / TORQVATAE / SACERDOTI.VESTALI / ANNIS
LXIIII.CAELESTI.PATRONAE / ACTIVS.L

6. CIL VI i 2129

NVMISIAE.MA / XIMILLAE.V.V / MAX.TI.IVL.BAL / BILLVS.S.SOLIS / DED.
IDIR.IAN / L.ANNIO.FABIANO / M.NONIO.MVCINO.COS

7. CIL VI i 2130

TERENTIAE.FLA / VOLAE.V.V.MA / XIMAE.AVREL / IVLIVS.BALBIL / LVS.SAC.
SOL.OB / PLVRA.EIVS.IN.SE.MERITA
D D / PR.NON.APRIL / LAETO.II.ET.CERIALE / COS

12. CIL VI i 2135 (=ILS II (1) ~~xi~~ 4934)

FL.PVBLICIAE.V.V.MAX / MERITO.SANCTISSIMAE.AC.PIISSI / MAE.QVAE.RITE.
 ET.PERVIGILI.ADMINIS / TRATIONE.OMNES.GRADVS.LAVDE / CVMVLATA.SACRA.
 SVA.VENERATA.VI / VIT.VT.SAECVLARI.AETATE.MINISTERIO.ADSIT.ET.IN.
 FVTORO.PERSEVERET / Q.TERENTIVS.RVFS.ET.CAENIA / VERISSIMA.PARENTES
 TERENTIAE.RVFILLAE.V.V. / CVIVS.MVLT.TEMPORIS.BONITATEM / ET.
 HVMANITATEM.EIVS.CIRCA.SE / IN.BREVI.SENSERVNT

13. CIL VI i 2136

DEDICATA.V.KAL.MART / M.IVNIO.MAXIMO.II.ET / VETTIO.AQVILINO.COSS /
 CVRANTE / FL.MARCIANO.V.E.FICTORE.V.V.COELIAE.CLAVDIANAE / V.V.
 MAXIMAE / SANCTISSIMAE.PIISIMAEQVE / CVIVS.EGREGIAM.SANCTITATEM / ET.IN.
 DEORVM.INFATIGABILEM / SACRORVM.OPERATIONEM.MERITIS / SVIS.LAVDEM.
 AETERNAM.ADHIBITA / GRAVITATE.NVMEN.QVOQVE.VESTAE / COMPROBAVIT /
 SACERDOTES.SACRAE.VRBIS

14. CIL VI i 2137 (=ILS II (1) ~~xi~~ 4936)

DEDICATA.KAL.MART / M.IVNIO.MAXIMO.II.ET / VETTIO.AQVILINO.COSS./
 CVRANTE / FL.MARCIANO.V.E.FICTORE.V.V
 COELIAE.CLAVDIANAE / V.V.MAX / SANCTISSIM.AC.SVPER.OMNES / RETRO.
 MAXIMAS.RELIGIOSISSIMAE / CVIVS.SANCTIMONIA.A.CVCTIS.PRAEDICATVR /
 NVNC.CERTE.PERTINET.ESSE.TE.TALEM.CVIVS / LAVDEM.NVMEN.QVOQVE.VESTAE.
 HONORAVIT / FL.EVCHARISTVS.SEPTIM.EPICTETVS.I.P / AVR.OPTATVS.
 SACERDOTES.SACRAE.Vrbis / DE X PRIM

15. CIL VI i 2138

COELIAE.CLAVDIANAE / V.V.MAXIMAE / RELIGIOSISSIMAE.BENIGNISSIMAEQVE /
 CVIVS.PIOS.RITVS.AC.PLENAM.SACRO / RVM.ERGA.DEOS.ADMINISTRATIONEM /
 VRBIS.AETERNA.LAVDE.B.S.S.COMPROBAVIT
 OCTAVIA.HONORATA.V.V.DIVINIS / EIVS.ADMONITIONIBVS.SEMPER.PROVECTA

16. CIL VI i 2139 (=ILS II (1) xi 4935)

COELIAE.CLAVDIANAE / V.V.MAXIMAE / A.DIIS.ELECTA.MERITO / SIBI.TALEM.
 ANTISTITEM / NVMEN.VESTAE.RESERVARE / VOLVIT / COELIA.NERVIANA.SOROR.
 VNA / CVM.PIERIO.CONIVGE.AC.LIBERIS / SVIS.ORANTES.VT.PER.TOT.SAECVLA /
 FACERE.DII.PERMITTANT

17. CIL VI i 2140

COELIAE.CLAVDIA / NAE.V.V.MAXIMAE / SANCTISSIMAE.AC / BENIGNISSIMAE /
 COELIA CLAVDIAN'' / SOROR.CVI'' / NICOMDED.VL'''

18. CIL VI i 2141

TERENTIAE.RVFILLAE / V.V.MAXIMAE / SANCTISSIMAE.RELIGIOSISSIMAE /
 PVDICISSIMAE.PRAESTANTISSIMAE / CVIVS.MERITA.CIRCA.ME.SEMPER.SENSI /
 AEL.IANVARIA.QVAE.ET.LEONTIA / EX.VOTO.DIGNISSIM.POSVIT
 DEDICATA.XIIII.KAL.IAN / CONSTANTIO.III.ET.MAXIMIANO.III.CAESS / COSS /
 CVRANTE.AVR.NICETA

19. CIL VI i 2142

TERENTIES.RVFILLES / V.V.MAX

20. CIL VI i 2143

DEDICATA.PRI.NON.MAI / TITIANO.II.ET.NEPOTIANO.COSS / CVRANTE.AVR.
 NICETA..... / MIRAE.SANCTITATIS.ADQVE / IN.CERIMONIIS.ANTISTITI.
 DEORVM / TERENTIAE.RVFILLAE.V.V.MAX / AVR.EVTYCHES.VOTI.COMPOS.
 REDDITVS / PATRONAE.ERGA.SE.PRAESTANTISSIMAE

21. CIL VI i 2144 (=ILS II (1) xi 4927)

TERENTIAE / FLAVVLAE / V.V. / MAX.SORORI / TERENTIVS.GENTIAN / VS.FL.
 DIALIS.V.C.PR / TVT.CVM.POMPONIA / PAETINA.VXORE.ET / LOLLIANO.GENTIANO/
 FILIO.FRATRIS

22. CIL VI i 2145

COELIAE.CONCORDIAE.VIRGINI / VESTALI.MAXIMAE.FABIA.PAV / LINA.C.F.
 STATVAM.FACIEN / DAM.CONLOCANDAMQVE / CVRAVIT.CVM.PROPTER / EGREGIAM.
 EIVS.PVDICI / TIAM.INSIGNEMQVE / CIRCA.CVLTVM.DIVINVM / SANCTITATEM.
 TVM.QVOD / HAEC.PRIOR.EIVS.VIRO / VETTIO.AGORIO.PRAETEXTA / TO.V.C.
 OMNIA.SINGVLARI / DIGNOQVE.ETIAM.AB.HVIVS / MODI.VIRGINIBVS.ET.SA /
 CERDOTIBVS.COLI.STATV / AM.CONLOCARAT

23. CIL VI i 2146

CALPVRNIAE / PRAETEXTAT / V.V. / MAXIMAE / IMMVNIS

24. CIL VI i 2147

FLAVIAE / PVBLICIAE / V.V / MAXIMAE / IMMVNIS / INIVGO

25. CIL VI i 2148

SOSSIAE / MAXIMAE / V.V

26. CIL VI i 2150 (=ILS II (1) ~~xl~~ 4940)

D.LICINIUS / D.L.ASTRAGALVS / SACERDOS.VIRGINVM / VESTALIVM

27. CIL VI iv ii 32409 (=ILS II (1) ~~xl~~ 4924)

PRAETEXTATAE CRASSI FIL / V.V.MAXIMAE / C.IVLIVS.CRETICVS / A.SACRIS

28. CIL VI iv ii 32410

.....TATA / ...V. /MA

29. CIL VI iv ii 32411 (=ILS II (1) ~~xl~~ 4925)

NVMISIAE.L.F. / MAXIMILLAE. / V.V.MAX / C.HELVIDIVS.MYSTICVS / DEVOTVS.
 BENEFICIIS.EIVS

30. CIL VI iv ii 32412

TERENTIAE.FLAVOLAE / SORORI.SANCTISSIMAE / V.V.MAXIMAE / Q.LOLLIANVS.Q.
 F / POLL.PLAUTIVS.AVITVS / COS.AVGVR.PR.CAND / TVTEL.LEG.LEG.VII /
 GEMIN.PIAE.FELICIS / IVRIDIC.ASTVRICAE.ET / CALLAECIAE.LEG.AVGG.PROV /
 ASIAE.QVAEST.CANDIDAT.TRIB / LATICLAV.LEGION.XIII.GEMIN / TRIVMVIR.
 MONETALIS.A.A.A / F.F.CVM / CLAVDIA SESTIA COCCEIA SEVIRIANA / CONIVGE.
 ET.LOLLIANA.PLAUTIA.SEPTIA.SERVIL / LA.FILIA

31. CIL VI iv ii 32413 (=ILS II (1) xi 4926)

TERENTIAE.FLAVOLAE / V.V. / MAXIMAE / CN.STATILIUS / MENANDER / FICTOR /
 V.V. / CN.STATILI / CERDONIS / FICTORIS / V.V. / ALVMNVS

32. CIL VI iv ii 32414 (=ILS II (1) xi 4930)

FLAVIAE.L.FIL / PVBLICIAE.V.V.MAX / SANCTISSIMAE.PISSIMAEQ / CVIVS.
 SANCTISSIMAM.ET / RELIGIOSAM.CVRAM.SACROR / QVAM.PER OMNES GRADVS /
 SACERDOTII LAVDABILI ADMI / NISTRATIONE OPERATVR NVMEN / SANCTISSIMAE
 VESTAE MATRIS / COMPROBAVIT
 AEMILIA.ROGATILLA.C.F.SORORIS FIL / CVM.MINVICIO.HONORATO.MARCELLO /
 AEMILIANO.C.P.FILIO.SVO / EXIMIAM.EIVS.ERGA.SE / PIETATEM

33. CIL VI iv ii 32415 (=ILS II (1) xi 4932)

FLAVIAE.L.F.PVBLICIAE / RELIGIOSAE / SANCTITATIS.V.V.MAX / CVIVS.
 EGREGIAM.MORVM / DISCIPLINAM.ET / IN.SACRIS.PERITISSIMA / OPERATIONEM.
 MERITO / RESPVBLICA.IN.DIES / FELICITER.SENTIT / VLPIVS.VERVS.ET.
 AVREL / TITVS..... DEPVATI / OB EXIMIAM.EIVS.ERGA.SE / BENIVOLENTIAM

34. CIL VI iv ii 32416 (=ILS II (1) xi 4931)

FL.PVBLICIAE.V.V.MAX / SANCTISSIMAE.AC.RELIGIOSIS / SIMAE.QVAE PER.
 OMNES.GRADVS / SACERDOTII.APVT.DIVINA.ALTARIA / OMNIVM DEORVM.ET.AD
 AETERNOS IGNES / DIEBVS NOCTIBVSQVE.PIA MENTE RITE / DESERVIENS.MERITO.

AD.HVNC / LOCVM.CVM AETATE.PERVENIT / BAREIVS.ZOTICVS.CVM.FLAVIA /
 VERECVND.A.SVA.OB EXIMIAM.EIVS / ERGA SE.BENIBOLENTIAM.PRAESTANTIAMQ.
 DEDICATA.PR.KAL.OCT / DD.NN.VALERIANO.AVG.IIIII.ET / GALLIENO.AVG.III.
 COSS

35. CIL VI iv ii 32417

FLAVIAE PVBLICIAE / V V MAX / SANCTISSIMAE / AC RELIGIOSSISIMAE / M
 AVRELIVS HERMES / OB EXIMIAM EIVS / ERGA SE BENIVOLENTIAM /
 PRAESTANTIAMQVE

36. CIL VI iv ii 32418 (=ILS II (1) xi 4933)

FL.PVBLICIAE / SANCTISSIMAE / AC PISSIMAE / V.V.MAX / T.FL.APRONIVS /
 FICTOR.V.V / LOCI.SECVNDI / DIGNISSIMAE / AC.PRAESTANTISSI / MAE.
 PATRONAE / CVM SVIS

37. CIL VI iv ii 32419

FL.PVBLICAE.V.V.MAX / SANCTISSIMAE.ET PISSI / MAE.AC.SVPER.OMNES /
 RETRO. RELIGIOSISSIMAE/ PVRISSIMAE.CASTISSIMAEQVE / CVIVS.RELIGIOSAM /
 CVRAM.SACRORVM.ET / MORVM.PRAEDICABLEM / DISCIPLINAM.NVMEN.QVOQVE /
 VESTAE.COMPROBAVIT / Q.VETVRIVS.MEMPHIVS.V.E. / FICTOR.V.V.DIGNATIONES /
 ERGA.SE.HONORISQVE.CAVSA / PLVRIMIS.IN.SE.CONLATIS / BENEFICIIS

38. CIL VI iv ii 32420 (=ILS II (1) xi 4937)

GOELIAE.CLAVDIANA.E.V.V. / MAX.SANCTISSIMAE.RELIGI / OSISSIMAE.AC.SVPER.
 OM / NES.PISSIMAE.CVIVS.OPE / RA.SACRORVM.GVBERNAN / TE.VESTA.MATRE.
 MAXI / MATVS.SVI.X.X.CONPLEBIT / AVRELIVS.FRUCTOSVS.CLI / ENS.ET.
 CANDIDATVS.BENIG / NITATAE.EIVS.PROBATVS / SIC.X.X.SIC.XXX.FELICITER
 PERGAMIORVM XXX.SIC / MAN

39. CIL VI iv ii 32421

*COELIAE.CLAVDIANAE / V.V.MAXIMA / SANC*SSIMAE / *SISSIMA*/ *NTIS*MAE /
SEPTIM

40. CIL VI iv ii 32422 (=ILS II (1) xi 4938)

OB MERITVM CASTITATIS / PVDICITIAE ADQ.IN SACRIS / RELIGIONIBVSQVE /
DOCTRINAE MIRABILIS / C''''''''E.V.V.MAX / PONTIFICES.V.V.C.C./ PROMAG.
MACRINO / SOSSIANO.V.C.P̄.M̄
DEDICATA.V.IDVS.IVNIAS / DIVO IOVIANO.ET.VARRONIANO / CONSS

41. CIL VI iv ii 32423

MAXIMAE / CN.STATILIVS / MENANDER / FICTOR / V.V

42. CIL VI iv ii 32424 (=ILS II (1) xi 4939)

***NTIS VITAE / PVDICITIAE CASTITATIS / IVXTA.LEGEM / DIVINITVS.DATAM /
DECRETO.PONTIFICVM

43. CIL VI iv ii 32425

SAN*** / OB EX*** / SINCER*** / ADQV* / AMICITIA** / AVRELIA.EPI**ANA.
C.F / BENEFICIIS.E**S.IVTA / ADQV*** / ECTA

II. ITALY

44. CIL IX Venusia

IVN 9. H.V.N.VEST

45. CIL IX 326 (=ILS II (1) xi 3316) Canusium

VESTAE SACRV* / P.TITIVS.L.F. / P.CVRTIVS P.F.SALAS / IIIIVIR.DE
NVMERE / GLADIATORIO / EX S.C

46. CIL X 1125 (=ILS I x 2942) Abellinum

TATIANI / C.IVLIO.RVFINIANO / ABLABIO.TATIANO.C.V.RVFI / NIANI.
 ORATORIS.FILIO.FISCI.PA / TRONO.RATIONVM.SVMMARVM / ADLECTO.INTER.
 CONSVLARES.IVDI / CIO.DIVI.CONSTANTINI.LEGATO.PRO / VINC.ASIAE.
 CORRECTORI.TVSCIAE / ET.VMBRIAE.CONSVLARI.AE / MILIAE.ET.LIGVRIAE.
 PONTIFICI / VESTAE.MATRIS.ET.IN COLLE / GIO.PONTIFICVM PROMA / GISTRO.
 SACERDOTI.HER / CVLIS.CONSVLARI.CAM / PANIAE.HVIC.ORDO.SPLEN / DIDISSIMVS.
 ET.POPVLVS / ABELLINATIVM.OB.INSIGNEM / ERGA.SE.BENEVOLENTIAM.ET /
 RELIGIONEM.ET.INTEGRIT.EIVS / STATVAM.CONLOCANDAM.CENSVIT

47. CIL X 8375 Cumae

NONIS.OCTRBR.DRVSI.CAESARIS.NATALIS.SVPPLICATIO.VESTAE.XVI.K.DICIMBR.
 NATALIS.TI.CAESARIS.SVPPLICATIO.VESTAE.***XIMVS.CREATVS.EST.SVPPLICATIO.
 VESTAE.DIS.PVB.P.P.R.Q.***LICATIO VESTAE

48. CIL XIV 1644 Ostia

CN.I**O.LIB.SVCESSVS / F**BI.ET.SVIS / LIBERTIS.L***BVS.POSTERISQ.E** /
 EX.HOC.MON**O.VETO.DONA* / NEQVE VE***RO.QVC*** / ITA FECER***OENA*** /
 VIRGINI**** / IN.FR.P***

49. CIL XIV 2213 (=ILS II (1) xi 3243) Lake Nemi

DIANAE / NEMORESI.VESTAE / SACRVM.DICT / IMP. NERVA.TRAIANO AVG /
 GERMANICO.̄̄̄̄.COS.PRAEF / EIVS.T.VOLTEDIO.MAMILIANO / QVAESTORIB / L.
 CAECILIO.VRSO.̄̄̄̄.M.LVCRETIO / SABINO.II.AEDILIB.Q.VIBENNA.QVIETO / TI.
 CLAVDIO.MAGNO / P.CORNELIVS.TROPHIMVS.PISTOR / ROMANIENSIS.EX.REG.
 XIIIID.IDEM.CVR / VICI.QVADRATI.ET.LANIA.C.F.THIONOE.CONIV / EIVS.VOTVM.
 LIBENS.SOLVERVNT

50. CIL XIV 2077 Lavinium

** / CAECILIAE.Q.F / FI////////** / *** / CAECILIAE.Q.F / PHILETE.
 VIRGINI / MAIORI.REGIAE / LAVRENTIVM.LA / VINATIVM.Q / CAECILIVS.PAPI /
 ON.PATER.FILIAE

51. CIL XIV 3677 Tibur

SAVFEIAE ALEXANDRIAE / V.V.TIBVRTIVM / CAPLATORES TIBVRTES / MIRAE
 EIVS INNOCENTIAE / QVAM VIBAE DECREVERVNT POST / OBITVM POSVERVNT /
 L.D.S.C.

52. CIL XIV 3679 Tibur

C.SEXTILIVS / V.V.TIBVRTIVM / LIB.EPHEBVS / HERCVLANIVS / AVGVSTALIS /
 CVRATOR
 **QVOD.L.ALFENATIVS / IIII.K.SEPTEMBRES.F / COGNITA.PETITIONE / EI BASM
 MARMO / HERCVLIS ET AVGVS / AVCTORITAS PER / VM C SEXTILIVS SA / EPHEBVS
 NON HOD / EXORNATVRVS SET / THENSAVRO HERC / AGERE GRATE EXT / QVOQVE
 NOMINE S / INSCRIPTIONE.L / ACILIVS / QVE EX** / EQVI VE** / ENSVE
 ** / VILLA ET / RIBENDO / ATTIVS

53. CIL XIV 3679a Tibur

ET.M:MVCIVS.TIBVRTINVS.II.II.VIRI** / CILIAPTA ADITV DATO SEXTILIO EPH
 ** / ONTINEBATVR VTI PERMI** / *PENSA OMNI**THEN** / ESQVILINA PONIRESI
 ** / F.P.DE.R.I.CENSVER** / **E VIRGINIS.VESTALIS** / **VNIFICVS ERGA
 REM PVBLIC** / **TA.BASE MARMORAE SVB** / **A.ESQVILINA / **PERMITTIQVE
 IT TIT** / **O SIGNIFICARI ADII** / **ATVS.N.CONSVLTO** / ***CETERI** /
 ***EMPLVM** / ***LINT / *** RVNT / ***TITIANOS** / ***ADFE**

54. CIL XIV 2410 Bovillae

LOCVS ADSIGNATVS AB C DISSINIO C F QVI** / CVRATORE REIPVBLICAE
 BOVILLENSIVM DEDI** / VIIII K IANVAR SEX SVLPICIO TERTVLLO Q TINEI** /

DOTE COS CVIVS OB DEDICATIONEM DEDIT ORDIN** / ONVM SING HE VIIII ITEM
 ORDINI AVGVSTALIVM SI** / QVOD PERMISERVNT IN CLVPEO QVOD EI
 POSVERVN** / TEMPLVM NOVVM PINGERE EFFIGIEM MA** / SEVERINAE VIRGI NIS
 ALBANAE MAXI** / RIS SVAE POST EX CESSVM VITAE EIVS** / PRIMVS COMITIA
 MAGISTRATVVM** / *AVSA INSTITV IT M CIVICA BARBARO** / **REGVLO COS
 ANNO VRBIS CONDITAE** / **SENTIENTE C.DISS*IO.FVSCO.CVR

55. CIL XIV 2575 Tusculum

IVN

9 H VEST

56. CIL XIV 4120 Prata Portia

CALPVRNIAE / PRAETEXTAT / V.V / MAXIM* / IMMVN*

57. ILS II 3317 Castelrotto

VESTAE / Q.CASSIVS M.F / VARVS / V.S

III. EMPIRE

58. CIL II 1166 (=ILS II (1) xi. 3318) Seville

VESTAE.AVG / SACRVM / M.IVNIVS.QVR / *ISPANVS / SEGOVIENSIS /
 TESTAMENTO.SVO / FIERI.IVSSIT / HVIC.ORDO.NAEVENS / DECRETO.LOCVM /
 DEDIT

59. CIL II 3378

VESTAE / AVG.SACRVM / TI.CLAVDIVS.FELIX / TIB.CLAVDI / FORTVNATI.LIB /
 ACCEPTO.LOCO / AB.ORDINE / MENTESANO / OB.HONOREM / VI.VIRATVS / D.S.P.
 D.D

60. CIL V 3920

VEST**

61. CIL V 8655

VESTAE.AVGVST** / **LIVS T LIB ATIMETVS V̄I** / **IVS EVHODVS.AVGVST** /
 ** DEDER** / **ONEM MS TI N**

62. CIL XII 3058 Gallia Narbonensis

ISIS* / SERAPIS VESTAE DIANAE SOMNI HS.Ñ.V̄I / ET PHIALAS II.CHRYSEN*
 CLI*GNA / DEORVM ARGENTEA CASTRENSIA DO / MO HABEBAT ITEM* /
 DEDICATIONE TEMPLI ISIS ET SERAPIS / DEO* / *ONIBVS NEMAVSENIVM ET
 ORNA / MENTA R* SINGVLIS XV.ITA VT / IN PVBLICO VESCERENTVR DISTRIBVI /
 IVSSIT INQVE EIVS DOMVS / *TELAM HS Ñ X RELIQVIT / ITEM IMAGINEM MARTIS
 AR / GENTEM EX / AMNAGENSIBVS DEDIT / C.ORDO BITVR

63. CIL XIII 1676 Lugdunum

SEX.IVLIO****SEX.IVLIO**AVGVSTAE AVGVSTO IVLIAE***NAE IVLIAE M.TVLLIO /
 IL*SEXTILIANO**DEAE DEO MAGIL**ORA.THERMIOLAE THERMIANO / SENONIO
 D** *VESTAE VOL**TI FILIA** / FILIAE NEPOTI

64. CIL XIII 6076 Lauterburg

H.D. / SEVERINVS / VICTORINVS / VET.EX.SIGN* / FERO.LEG.VII* /
 AVG.ANTON* / ANE.I** / *DEDIC**

65. CIL XIII 6709 Mogontiacum

NVMINIB.AVG.I.O.M.FORTVVESTAE D**LARIBVS PENATIBVS L SALLVSTI**
 SEDATVS**SVS*M
 VE*LARIB*PENATIBVS L SALLVSTIVS SEDATVS HOSPES V.S.L.M

APPENDIX II

EXTRACTS FROM CLASSICAL AUTHORS CONCERNING THE CULT OF VESTA CITED
IN CHAPTERS I-V

Unless otherwise stated, extracts are taken from the Loeb editions.

1. ANON ACTA FRATRUM ARVALIUM ed. Henzen p.147

Vestae oves II

Vestae matri oves II

Vestae matri ov(es) II

Ves(tae) deo(rum) dear(um) q(ue) ov(es) II

2. ANON LAUS PISONIS 216-219

tu modò laetus ades: forsan meliora canemus

et vires dabit ipse favor, dabit ipsa feracem

spes animum: dignare tuos aperire Penates,

hoc solum petimus.

3. APPIAN ROMAN HISTORY XII 23

Κάονιοι Ῥοδίοις ὑποτελεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντιόχου πολέμῳ γεγόμενα, καὶ ὑπὸ
Ῥωμαίων ἀφεθέντες οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ, τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς ἐς τὴν βουλαίαν
Ἑστίαν καταφυγόντας ἔλκοντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑστίας, τὰ βρέφη σφῶν πρῶτα
ἐκτενον ἐν ὄψει τῶν μητέρων, αὐτὰς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπ' ἐκείνοις.

4. ARNOBIUS ADVERSUS GENTES ed. Marchesi III.40

Hos Consentes et Complices Etrusci aiunt et nominant, quod una

oriuntur et occidunt una, sex mares et totidem feminas, nominibus

ignotis et miserationis parcissimae; sed eos summi Iovis consiliarios

ac principes existimari.

5. IBID

IV.35

Sedent in spectaculis publicis sacerdotum omnium magistratumque collegia,
pontifices maximi et maximi curiones, sedent quindecimviri laureati et
diales cum apicibus flamines, sedent interpretes augures divinae mentis
et voluntatis, nec non et castae virgines, perpetui nutrices et
conservatrices ignis, sedet cunctus populus et senatus, consulatibus
functi patres, dis proximi atque augustissimi reges.

6. AUGUSTUS

RES GESTAE

11

(Aram Fortunae Reducis iuxta ae)des Honoris et Virtutis ad portam //
(Capenam pro reditu meo se)natus consacravit, in qua ponti/(fices et
Virgines Vestales anni)versarium sacrificium facere / (iussit eo die
quo consulibus Q.Luc)retio et (M.Vinici)o in urbem ex / Syria redi, et
diem Augustali)a ex (c)o(gnomine nost)ro appellavit./

7. IBID

12

(Cu)m ex H(ispa)nia Gal(lia)que, rebus in his p)rovincis prosp(e)/re
(gest)i(s), R(omani redi) Ti.Ne(r)one P.Qui(ntilio consulibu)s aram /
(Pacis A)u(g)ust(ae senatus pro) redi(t)u meo co(nsacrari censuit) ad
cam//(pum Martium, in qua ma)gistratus et sac(erdotes et virgines)
V(est)a(les) / (anniversarium sacrific)ium facer(e iussit)

8. IBID

20

Duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sex(tum ex decreto) /
senatus refeci, nullo praetermisso quod e(o) temp(ore refici debebat)

9. IBID

21

Don(a e)x / manibiis in Capitolio et in aede divi Iu(1)i et in aede
Apollinis et in ae//de Vestae et in templo Martis Vltoris consacravi
quae mihi consti/terunt HS circiter milliens

10. AULUS GELLIIUS

NOCTES ATTICARUM

I.xii.1-15

Qui de virgine capienda scripserunt, quorum diligentissime scripsit Labeo Antistius, minorem quam annos sex, maiorem quam annos decem natam, negaverunt capi fas esse; item quae non sit patrima et matrima: item quae lingua debili sensuve aurium deminuta aliave qua corporis labe insignita sit; item quae ipsa aut cuius pater emancipatus sit, etiamsi vivo patre in avi potestate sit; item cuius parentes alter ambove servitutem servierunt aut in negotiis sordidis versantur. Sed et eam cuius soror ad id sacerdotium lecta est excusationem mereri aiunt; item cuius pater flamen aut augur aut quindecimvirum sacris faciundis aut septemvirum epulonum aut salius est. Sponsae quoque pontificis et tubicinis sacrorum filiae vacatio a sacerdotio isto tribui solet. Praeterea Capito Ateius scriptum reliquit, neque eius legendam filiam qui domicilium in Italia non haberet, et excusandam eius qui liberos tres haberet. Virgo autem Vestalis simul est capta atque in atrium Vestae deducta et pontificibus tradita est, eo statim tempore sine emancipatione ac sine capitis minutione e patris potestate exit et ius testamenti faciundi adipiscitur. De more autem rituque capiundae virginis litterae quidem antiquiores non extant, nisi quae capta prima est a Numa rege esse captam. Sed Papiam legem invenimus, qua cavetur ut pontificis maximi arbitrato virgines e populo viginti legantur sortitioque in contione ex eo numero fiat et cuius sors virginis ducta erit, ut eam pontifex maximus capiat eaque Vestae fiat. Sed ea sortitio ex lege Papia non necessaria nunc videri solet. Nam si quis honesto loco natus adeat pontificem maximum atque offerat ad sacerdotium filiam suam, cuius dumtaxat salvis religionum observationibus ratio haberi possit, gratia Papiae legis per senatum fit. "Capi" autem virgo propterea dici videtur, quia pontificis maximi manu presa ab eo parente in cuius potestate est, veluti bello capta, abducitur. In libro primo Fabii Pictoris, quae verba pontificem maximum dicere oporteat, cum

virginem capiat, scriptum est. Ea verba haec sunt: "Sacerdotem Vestalem, quae sacra faciat quae ius siet sacerdotem Vestalem facere pro populo Romano Quiritibus, uti quae optima lege fuit, ita te, Amata, capio". Plerique autem "capi" virginem solam debere dici putant. Sed flamines quoque Diales, item pontifices et augures "capi" dicebantur.

11. IBID

I.xii.19

"Amata" inter capiendum a pontifice maximo appellatur, quoniam quae prima capta est hoc fuisse nomen traditum est.

12. IBID

VII.vii.2-4

Et Taraciam quidem virginem Vestae fuisse lex Horatia testis est quae super ea ad populum lata. Qua lege ei plurimi honores fiunt, inter quos ius quoque testimonii dicendi tribuitur, "testabilis" que una omnium feminarum ut sit datur. Id verbum est legis ipsius Horatiae; contrarium est in Duodecim Tabulis scriptum: "Inprobus intestabilisque esto". Praeterea si quadráginta annos nata sacerdotio abire ac nubere voluisset, ius ei potestasque ex augurandi atque nubendi facta est munificentiae et beneficii gratia, quod Campum Tiberinum sive Martium populo condonasset.

13. IBID

X.xv.31

Verba praetoris ex edicto perpetuo de flamine Diali et de sacerdote Vestae adscripsi: "Sacerdotem Vestalem et flaminem Dialem in omni mea iurisdictione iurare non cogam".

14. CALPURNIUS SICULUS

ECLOGUES

V.i.25-27

tum cespite vivo

pone focum geniumque loci Faunumque Laresque

salso farre voca;

15. CATO DE AGRICULTURA lxxvi.4

In summum tracta singula indito, postea solum contrahito ornatoque focum de ve primo temperatoque, tunc placentam inponito, testo caldo operito, pruma insuper et circum operito.

16. IBID cxxxii

Dapem hoc modo fieri oportet. Iovi dapali culignam vini quantam vis polluceto. Eo die feriae bubus et bubulcis et qui dapem facient. Cum pollucere oportebit, sic facies: "Iuppiter dapalis, quod tibi fieri oportet in domo familia mea culignam vini dapi, eius rei ergo macte hac illace dape pollucenda esto". Manus interluito, postea vinum sumito: "Iuppiter dapalis, macte istace dape pollucenda esto, macte vino inferio esto". Vestae, si voles, dato.

17. CICERO DE DIVINATIONE I.45

nam non multo ante urbem captam exaudita vox est a luco Vestae, qui a Palati radice in novam viam devexus est, ut muri et portae reficerentur; futurum esse, nisi provisum esset, ut Roma caperetur.

18. IBID DE DOMO SUA lvii.144

teque, Vesta mater, cuius castissimas sacerdotes ab hominum amentium furore et scelere defendi, cuiusque ignem illum sempiternum non sum passus aut sanguine civium restingui aut cum totius urbis incendio commisceri;

19. IBID DE HARUSPICIIUM RESPONSIS VI.12

De sacris publicis, de ludis maximis, de deorum penatium Vestaeque matris caerimoniis, de illo ipso sacrificio, quod fit pro salute populi Romani, quod post Romam conditam huius unius casti tutoris religionum scelere violatum est, quod tres pontifices statuissent, id semper

populo Romano, semper senatui, semper ipsis dis immortalibus satis sanctum, satis augustum, satis religiosum esse visum est.

20. IBID DE LEGIBUS II.19

In urbibus delubra habento; lucos in agris habento et Larum sedes.

21. IBID II.20

Divisque aliis alii sacerdotes, omnibus pontifices, singulis flamines sunt. Virginesque Vestales in urbe custodiunt ignem foci publici sempiternum.

22. IBID II.27

neque ea, quae a maioribus prodita est cum dominis, tum famulis posita in fundi villaeque conspectu, religio Larum, repudianda est.

23. IBID II.29

cumque Vesta quasi focum urbis, ut Graeco nomine est appellata, quod nos prope idem Graecum, non interpretatum nomen tenemus, complexa sit, ei colendae virgines praesint, ut advigiletur facilius ad custodiam ignis et sentiant mulieres in illis naturam feminarum omnem castitatem pati.

24. IBID DE NATURA DEORUM II.xxvii.68

Iam Vestae nomen a Graecis; ea est enim quae ab illis *Ἑστία* dicitur; vis autem eius ad aras et focos pertinet, itaque in ea dea, quod est rerum custos intumorum, omnis et precatio et sacrificatio extrema est.

25. IBID DE REPUBLICA II.26

adiunxitque praeterea flamines, Salios virginesque Vestales omnisque partis religionis statuit sanctissime.

26. IBID

IN CATILINAM

IV.ix.18

vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras Penatium, vobis illum ignem Vestae sempiternum, vobis omnium deorum templa atque delubra, vobis muros atque urbis tecta commendat.

27. IBID

PHILIPPIC

XI.x.24

Quodsi provinciae consulibus expetendae videntur, sicut saepe multis clarissimis viris expetitae sunt, reddite prius nobis Brutum, lumen et decus civitatis; qui ita conservandus est ut illud signum, quod de caelo delapsum Vestae custodiis continetur.

28. IBID

PRO CAELIO RUFO

XIV.34

Nonne te, si nostrae imagines viriles non commovebant, ne progenies quidem mea, Q. illa Claudia, aemulam domesticae laudis in gloria muliebri esse admonebat, non virgo illa Vestalis Claudia, quae patrem complexa triumphantem ab inimico tribuno plebei de curru detrahi passa non est?

29. IBID

PRO FONTEIO

XXI.47-48

Nolite pati, iudices, aras deorum immortalium Vestaeque matris cotidianis virginis lamentationibus de vestro iudicio commoveri; prospicite, ne ille ignis aeternus nocturnis Fonteiae laboribus vigiliisque servatus sacerdotis vestrae lacrimis extinctus esse dicatur. Tendit ad vos virgo Vestalis manus supplices easdem, quas pro vobis dis immortalibus tendere consuevit.

30. IBID

PRO MILONE

XXXI.85

Vos enim iam, Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque obtestor, vosque, Albanorum obrutae arae, sacrorum populi Romani sociae et aequales, quas ille praeceps amentia caesis prostratisque sanctissimis

lucis substructionum insanis molibus oppresserat;

31.. IBID

PRO SCAURO

XXIII.48

propinqua illa aedes Vestae admonet vos, ut recordemini illius L.

Metelli, pontificis maximi, qui, cum templum illud arderet, in medios se iniecit ignis et eripuit flamma Palladium illud, quod quasi pignus nostrae salutis atque imperii custodiis Vestae continetur.

32. CLAUDIAN

DE CONSULATO STILICHONIS

III.167-170

huic fulmina vibrat

Iuppiter; hanc tota Tritonia Gorgone velat.

arcanas huc Vesta faces, huc orgia Bacchus

transtulit, et Phrygios genetrix turrita leones;

33. IBID

IN EUTROPIUM

I.324-330

Tritonia, Phoebe,

Terra, Ceres, Cybele, Iuno, Latona, coluntur:

eunuchi quae templa dei, quas vidimus aras?

inde sacerdotes; haec intrat pectora Phoebus:

inde canunt Delphi: Troianam sola Minervam

virginitas Vestalis adit flammisque tuetur:

hi nullas meriti vittas semperque profani.

34. DIO CASSIUS

ROMAN HISTORY

VII.8 (Zonaras)

τῶν δὲ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερειῶν, ἃς παρθενεύειν διὰ βίου νενόμισται, φωρᾶσας
τινὰ συμφθαρεῖσαν ἀνδρὶ, ὑπόγεῶν τινα κατασκευάσας ὑποδρομὴν
προμήκη, κλίην τε θεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ λύχνον καὶ τράπεζαν σιτίων
ὑπόπλεω, ἐκεῖ τὴν φθαρεῖσαν προπεμπομένην ἐκόμισε, καὶ ζῶσαν
εἰσαγαγὼν ἐγκατωκοδόμησε. καὶ οὕτω τὰς τὴν παρθενίαν μὴ

τηρησάσας τῶν ἱερειῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου τιμωρεῖσθαι κεκράτηκεν·

35. IBID

XXXVII.35.4

καί τινα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα ἅμα τῇ εὔλαβῳ, ὅτι ἱερῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ποιηθέντων τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ μακρότατον παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἦρθη, τὸν μὲν δῆμον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὀρκῶσαι ἐς τὸν κατάλογον.

36. IBID

XXXVII.45.1

Κὰν τούτῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ, τοῦ Κλωδίου τοῦ Πουπλίου τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐν τε τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ποίησιν τῶν ἱερῶν, ἅπερ αἱ ἀειπαρθέναι παρὰ τε τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἄγνωστα ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐς πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν ἐπετέλουν.

37. IBID

XLII.31.3

καὶ ὁ μὲν θεατὴς ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀγνωσθέτης αὐτῶν ἐγίγνετο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τῆς τε πόλεως τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα ἀντικατελάμβανον καὶ φόνους τε καὶ ἐμπρήσεις ἐποίουν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἱερά ποτε ἐκ τοῦ Ἑστιαίου ὑπὸ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων ἐκκομισθῆναι.

38. IBID

XLV.17.4

τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκεῖνά τε ἐτάραττε καὶ σεισμὸς μέγας γενόμενος, ταῦρος τέ τις τυθεὶς τε δι' αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Ἑστιαίῳ καὶ ἀναπηδῆσας μετὰ τὴν ἱερουργίαν.

39. IBID

XLVII.19.4

τῷ μὲν δὴ Καίσαρι ταῦτ' ἔδωκαν, ταῖς δὲ ἀειπαρθένοις ῥαβδούχῃ
ἐνὶ ἐκάστη χρήσθαι, ὅτι τις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ δείπνου πρὸς ἐσπέραν
οἴκαδε ἐπανιοῦσα ἡγνοήθη τε καὶ ὑβρίσθη.

40. IBID

XLVIII.19.4

καὶ τούτου τό τε ἐκείνου ναυτικὸν καὶ τὸ τῶν δούλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς
Ἰταλίας ἀφικνουμένων πλήθος προσλαβὼν πάμπλου γούξῃ τοσοῦτοι
γὰρ δὴ γυτομόλουν ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀειπαρθένας καθ' ἱερῶν εὐξασθαι
ἐπισχεθῆναι σφῶν τὰς αὐτομολίας.

41. IBID

XLVIII.37.1

ταῦτα μὲν οὖν συνθέμενοι καὶ συγγραφάμενοι τά τε γραμματεῖα
ταῖς ἱερείαις ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις παρακατέθεντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
δεξιὰς τέ σφισιν ἔδωσαν καὶ ἐφίλησαν ἀλλήλους.

42. IBID

XLVIII.46.2

ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ μαθὼν τοῦτο τά τε γραμματεῖα τὰ τῆς συμβάσεως
ἀνείλετο παρὰ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν τε Λέπιδον
μετεπέμψατο.

43. IBID

LXXVIII (Exc. Val 382)

Ὅτι λέγων εὐσεβέστατος πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι περιττότητι
μιαφονιῶν κατεχρήσατο, τῶν ἀειπαρθένων τέσσαρς ἀποκτείνας,
ᾧ μίαν αὐτός, ὅτε γε καὶ ἐδύνατο.

44. IBID

LXXVIII (Exc.Val. 383)

ἡ δὲ δὴ κόρη αὕτη, περὶ ἧς λέγω, κλωδία Λαῖτα ὠνομάζετο· ἥτις καὶ μέγα βοῶσα, "οἶδεν αὐτὸς Ἀντωνῖνος ὅτι παρθένος εἰμί, οἶδεν αὐτὸς ὅτι καθαρεύω," ζῶσα κατωρύγη· καὶ συνεκοιτώνησαν αὐτῇ καὶ ἕτεραι τρεῖς τῆς καταδίκης, ὧν αἱ μὲν δύο Αὐρηλία τε Σεουῆρα καὶ Πομπωνία Ρουφίνα, ὁμοίως ἀπέθανον, Καττουτία δὲ Κρησκεντίνα ἑαυτὴν ἀνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἔρριψεν.

45. DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS ROMAN ANTIQUITIES I.xxx.1

Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τῷ τεκμηρίῳ χρώμενος ἑτέρους εἶναι πείθεμαι τῶν Τυρρηγῶν τοὺς Πελασγούς, οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ Λυδῶν τοὺς Τυρρηγούς ἀποίκους εἶμαι γενέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ὁμόγλωσσοι εἰσιν, οὐδ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὥς φωνῇ μὲν οὐκέτι χρῶνται παραπλησίᾳ, ἄλλα δέ τινα διασώζουσι τῆς μητροπόλεως μηνύματα. οὔτε γὰρ θεοὺς Λυδοῖς τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομίζουσιν οὔτε νόμοις οὔτ' ἐπιτηδεύμασι κέχρηνται παραπλησίοις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γε ταῦτα πλέον Λυδῶν διαφέρουσιν ἢ Πελασγῶν.

46. IBID.

I.lxvi.2

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἱκνουμένοις χρόνοις ἐγένετο, ἥνικα δὲ ὠκίζετο πρὸς ὄρει καὶ λίμνῃ κατεσκευάσθη τὸ μέσον ἐπέχουσα ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ἦν ὥσπερ τεῖχη τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα δυσάλωτον αὐτὴν ποιοῦντα. τό τε γὰρ ὄρος ἐν τοῖς πάντι οὐχυρόν τε καὶ ὑψηλόν ἐστιν ἢ τε λίμνη βαθεῖα καὶ μεγάλη, καὶ αὐτὴν διὰ κλισιάδων ἀνοιγομένων ὑποδέχεται τὸ πεδίον ταμιευομένων ὅποσον βούλονται τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ὕδωρ.

47. IBID

I.lxix

Δάρδανον μὲν ἐν τῇ κτισθείσῃ τε ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὀνομασίας
 ὁμοίας τυχούσῃ πόλει τὰ ἔδη καταλιπεῖν Ἰλίου δ' ἐν ὑστέρῳ
 χρόνῳ συνοικισθέντος ἐκεῖ μετενεχθῆναι πρὸς τῶν ἐγγόνων
 αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱερά. ποιήσασθαι δὲ τοὺς Ἰλιεῖς νεών τε καὶ ἄδυτον
 αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ φυλάττειν δι' ἐπιμελείας ὅσῃς ἐδύναντο
 πλείστης θεόπεμπτά τε ἡγουμένους εἶναι καὶ σωτηρίας κύρια τῇ
 πόλει. ἀλίσκομένης δὲ τῆς κάτω πόλεως τὸν Αἰνεΐαν καρτερόν τῆς
 ἄκρας γενόμενον. ἄρα πάντα ἐκ τῶν ἀδύτων τὰ τε ἱερά τῶν μεγάλων
 θεῶν καὶ ὅπερ ἔτι περιῆν Παλλάδιον (θάτερον γὰρ Ὀδυσσέα καὶ
 Διομήδην νυκτός φασιν εἰς Ἴλιον ἀφικομένους κλοπῇ λαβεῖν)
 οἴχεσθαι τε κομίσαντα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐλθεῖν ἄγοντα εἰς
 Ἰταλίαν. Ἀρκτῖνος δὲ φησιν ὑπὸ Διὸς δοθῆναι Δαρδάνῳ Παλλάδιον ἐν
 καὶ εἶναι τοῦτο ἐν Ἰλίῳ τέως ἢ πόλις ἡλίσκετο κεκρυμμένον ἐν
 ἀβάτῳ· εἰκόνα δ' ἐκείνου κατεσκευασμένην ὥς μῆδ' ἐν τῆς ἀρχετύπου
 διαφέρειν ἀπάτης τῶν ἐπιβουλευσόντων ἕνεκεν ἐν φανερώ τεθῆναι
 καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας λαβεῖν. τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν
 ὑπ' Αἰνεΐου κομισθέντα ἱερά τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀνδράσι πειθόμενος
 γράφω τῶν τε μεγάλων θεῶν εἰκόνας εἶναι, οὓς Σαμοθῤῆκες
 Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα ὀργιάζουσι, καὶ τὸ μυθευόμενον Παλλάδιον, ὃ
 φασὶ τὰς ἱεράς φυλάττειν παρθένοισ ἐν νυκτὶ κείμενον Ἑστίας, ἔνθα
 καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον διασώζεται πῦρ.

48. IBID

II.lxiv.5

τὴν δὲ πέμπτην ταῖς φυλαττούσαις τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ παρθένοισ, αἵ
 καλοῦνται πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς θεᾶς ἣν θεραπεύουσιν Ἑστιάδες,
 αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενος Ῥωμαίοις Ἑστίας καὶ παρθένοισ
 ἀποδείξας αὐτῇ θυπόλους.

49. IBID

II.lxv.1

τὴν γοῦν ἰδρυσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ Ῥωμύλῳ τινὲς ἀνατιθέασι, τῶν ἀμηχάνων νομίζοντες εἶναι πόλεως οἰκισμένης ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἐμπεύρου μαντικῆς μὴ κατασκευασθῆναι πρῶτον ἐστίαν κοινὴν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν Ἄλβᾳ τοῦ κτίστου τραφέντος, ἐν ᾗ παλαιὸν ἐξ οὗ τὸ τῆς θεᾶς ταύτης ἱερὸν ἰδρυμένον ἦν, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ θυηπόλου γενομένης τῇ θεῇ.

50. IBID

II.lxv.4

διὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κοινὸν ἱερὸν οὐ κατασκευάσατο τῆς ἑστίας οὐδὲ ἱερείας ἔταξεν αὐτῇ παρθένοισι, ἐν ἐκάστῃ δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα φρατριῶν ἰδρυσάμενος ἐστίαν, ἐφ' ἧς ἔθυσεν οἱ φρατρίεις, θυηπόλους αὐτῶν ἐποίησε τοὺς τῶν κουριῶν ἡγεμόνας, τὰ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἔθῃ μιμησάμενος, ἅπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιοτάταις τῶν πόλεων ἐτι γίγνεται. τὰ γέ τοι καλούμενα πρυτανεῖα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἑστίας ἐστὶν ἱερά, καὶ θεραπεύεται πρὸς τῶν ἐχόντων τὸ μέγιστον ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κράτος.

51. IBID

II.lxvi.2

ἔχει δέ τις ἀπορίας καὶ τὸ φυλαττόμενον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τί δήποτε ἐστὶ καὶ διὰ τί πρόσκειται παρθένοισι. τινὲς μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ φανεροῦ πυρὸς εἰπαί φασι τὸ τηρούμενον, τὴν δὲ φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ παρθένοισι ἀνακεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδράσι ποιοῦνται κατὰ τὸ εἶκος, ὅτι πῦρ μὲν ἀμιάντον, παρθένος δ' ἀφθαρτον, τῷ δ' ἀγνοτάτῳ τῶν θεῶν τὸ καθαρώτατον τῶν θνητῶν φίλον.

52. IBID

II.lxvi.3-4

ἔστιά δ' ἀνὰ κείσθαι τὸ πῦρ νομίζουσιν, ὅτι γῆ τε οὖσα ἡ θεὸς καὶ τὸν μέσον κατέχουσα τοῦ κόσμου τόπον τὰς ἀνάψεις τοῦ μεταρσίου ποιεῖται πυρὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς. εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἳ φασιν ἔξω τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπόρρητα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἱερὰ κείσθαι τινα ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς θεᾶς, ὧν οἳ τε ἱεροφάνται τὴν γνῶσιν ἔχουσι καὶ αἱ παρθένοι, τεκμήριον οὐ μικρὸν παρεχόμενοι τοῦ λόγου τὸ συμβὰν περὶ τὴν ἔμπρησιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατὰ τὸν Φοινικικὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρῶτον συστάντα Ῥωμαῖοις πρὸς Καρχηδονίους περὶ Σικελίας. ἔμπρησθέντος γὰρ τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τῶν παρθένων φευγουσῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν τις Λεύκιος Καϊκίλιος ὁ καλούμενος Μέτελλος ἀνὴρ ὑπάτικός, ὁ τὸν αἰσίδιμον ἐκ Σικελίας ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων καταγαγὼν ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐλεφάντων θρίαμβον, ὑπεριδὼν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος ἔνεκα παρεκινδύνευσεν εἰς τὰ καίόμενα βιάσασθαι καὶ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων ἀρπάσας ἱερὰ διέσωσεν ἐκ τοῦ πυρός.

53. IBID

II.lxvi.5

τοῦτο δὲ λαβόντες ὁμολογούμενον ἐπισυνάπτουσιν αὐτοὶ στοχασμούς τινας ἰδίους, οἳ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ λέγοντες ἱερῶν μοῖραν εἶναί τινα φυλαττομένην τὴν ἐνθάδε, Δαρδάνου μὲν εἰς τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κτισθεῖσαν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τὰ ἱερὰ μετενεγκαμένου, Αἰνείου δέ, ὅτ' ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς Τρωάδος ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ταῦτα κομίσαντος εἰς Ἰταλίαν, οἳ δέ τὸ διοπετὲς Παλλάδιον ἀποφαίνοντες εἶναι τὸ παρ' Ἰλίουσι γενόμενον, ὡς Αἰνείου κομίσαντος αὐτὸ δι' ἐμπειρίαν, Ἀχαιῶν δέ τὸ μίμημα αὐτοῦ λαβόντων κλοπῇ.

54. IBID

II.lxvii.1

Αἱ δὲ θεραπεύουσαι τὴν θεὸν παρθένοι τέτταρες μὲν ἦσαν κατ' ἀρχὰς τῶν βασιλέων αὐτὰς αἰρουμένων ἐφ' οἷς κατεστήσατο δικάοις ὁ νόμος, ὕστερον δὲ διὰ πλῆθος τῶν ἱεουργιῶν ἅς ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐξ γενόμεναι μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαμένουσι χρόνου, διάλταν ἔχουσαι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, ἐνθα δι' ἡμέρας μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀπείργεται τῶν βουλομένων εἰσιέναι, νύκτωρ δὲ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀρρένων ἐναυλίσασθαι θέμις.

55. IBID

II.lxvii.2

χρόνον δὲ τριακονταετῇ μένειν αὐτὰς ἀναγκαῖον ἀγνὰς γάμων θυηπολούσας τε καὶ τᾶλλα θρησκευούσας κατὰ νόμον, ἐν ᾗ δέκα μὲν ἔτη μαυθάνειν αὐτὰς ἔδει, δέκα δ' ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ ἱερά, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ δέκα διδάσκειν ἑτέρας. ἐκπληρωθείσης δὲ τῆς τριακονταετίας οὐδὲν ἦν τὸ κωλύσον τὰς βουλομένας ἀποθείσας τὰ στέμματα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ παράσημα τῆς ἱερωσύνης γαμεῖσθαι. καὶ ἐποίησάν τινες τοῦτο πάνυ ὀλίγοι, αἷς ἄζηλοι συνέβησαν αἱ τελευταῖαι τῶν βίων καὶ οὐ πάνυ εὐτυχεῖς, ὥστε δι' οἰωνοῦ λαμβάνουσαι τὰς ἐκείνων συμφορὰς αἱ λοιπαὶ παρθένοι μένουσι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ μέχρι θανάτου, τότε δὲ εἰς τὸν τῆς ἐκλιπούσης ἀριθμὸν ἑτέρα πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν ἀποδείκνυται.

56. IBID

II.lxvii.3

τιμαὶ δὲ αὐταῖς ἀποδέδονται παρὰ τῆς πόλεως πολλαὶ καὶ καλαί, δι' ἅς οὔτε παίδων αὐταῖς ἐστὶ πόθος οὔτε γάμων, τιμωρίαι τε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτανομένοις κείνται μεγάλαι, ὧν ἐξετασταί τε καὶ κολασταὶ κατὰ νόμον εἰσὶν οἱ ἱεροφάνται, τὰς μὲν ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐλαττόνων

ἀμαρτανούσας ῥάβδεις μαστιγοῦντες, τὰς δὲ φθαρείσας ἀσχίστω
τε καὶ ἐλεεινοτάτῳ παραδιδόντες θανάτῳ.

57. IBID

II.lxvii.4

ζῶσαι γὰρ ἔτι πομπεύουσιν ἐπὶ κλίνῃς φερόμεναι τὴν
ἀποδεδειγμένην τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐκφοράν, ἀνακλαιόμενων αὐτὰς καὶ
προπεμπόντων φίλων τε καὶ συγγενῶν, κρημισθεῖσαι δὲ μέχρι τῆς
κολλίνης πύλης, ἐντὸς τείχους εἰς σηκὸν ὑπὸ γῆς κατεσκευασμένον
ἅμα τοῖς ἐνταφίσις κόσμοις τίθενται καὶ οὐτ' ἐπιστήματος οὐτ'
ἐναγισμῶν οὐτ' ἄλλου τῶν νομίμων οὐδενὸς τυγχάνουσι.

58. IBID

II.lxvii.5

πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα δοκεῖ μηνύματα εἶναι τῆς οὐχ ὁσίως
ὑπηρετούσης τοῖς ἱεροῖς, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ σβέσις τοῦ πυρός, ἣν ὑπὲρ
ἅπαντα τὰ δεινὰ Ῥωμαῖοι δεδοίκασιν ἀφανισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως
σημεῖον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ἀφ' ἧς ποτ' ἂν αἰτίας γένηται, καὶ
πολλαῖς αὐτὸ θεραπείαις ἐξιλασκόμενοι κατάγουσι πάλιν εἰς τὸ
ἱερόν· ὑπὲρ ᾧν κατὰ τὸν οἰκείου καιρὸν ἐρῶ.

59. IBID

II.lxviii.3-5

λέγεται δὲ ποτε τοῦ πυρός ἐκλιπόντος δι' ὀλιγωρίαν τινὰ τῆς
τότε αὐτὸ φυλαττούσης Αἰμιλίας, ἑτέρας παρθένῳ τῶν νεωστὶ
κατειλεγμένων καὶ ἄρτι μανθανουσῶν παραδούσης τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν,
ταραχὴ πολλὴ γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην καὶ ζήτησις ὑπὸ τῶν
ἱεροφαντῶν, μή τι μίαισμα περὶ τὸ πῦρ τῆς ἱερείας ἐτύγχανε
γεγονός· ἐνθα δὲ φασὶ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν ἀναίτιον μὲν οὔσαν,

ἀπορρυμένην δ' ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι παρόντων τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παρθένων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐκτείνασαν εἰπεῖν·
 "Ἔστιά, τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως φύλαξ, εἰ μὲν ὀσίως καὶ δικάιως ἐπιτετέλεκά σοι τὰ ἱερὰ χρόνον ὀλίγου δέοντα τριακονταετούς καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχουσα καθάραν καὶ σῶμα ἄγνόν, ἐπιφάνηθί μοι καὶ βοήθησον καὶ μὴ περιίδῃς τὴν σεαυτῆς ἱέρειαν τὸν οἰκτιστοῦ μόνον ἀποθανοῦσαν· εἰ δὲ ἀνόσιόν τι πέπρακταί μοι, ταῖς ἐμαῖς τιμωρίαις τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἄγος ἀφάνισον." ταῦτ' εἰποῦσαν καὶ περιρρήξασαν ἀπὸ τῆς καρπασίνης ἐσθῆτος, ἣν ἔτυχεν ἐνδεδουκυῖα, βαλεῖν τοῦ τελαμῶνα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν λέγουσι καὶ ἐκ τῆς κατεψυγμένης πρὸ πολλοῦ καὶ οὐδένα φυλαττούσης σπινθῆρα τέφρας ἀναλάμψαι φλόγα πολλὴν διὰ τῆς καρπάσου, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι δεῖσαι τῇ πόλει μήτε ἀγνισμῶν μήτε νέου πυρός.

60. IBID

II.1xix.1-2

Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτου θαυμασιώτερόν ἐστι καὶ μύθῳ μᾶλλον εἰκότως ὁ μέλλω λέγειν. κατηγορήσαί τινά φασιν ἀδίκως μιᾶς τῶν παρθένων τῶν ἱερῶν τυκκίας ὄνομα, ἀφανισμόν μὲν πυρός οὐκ ἔχοντα προφέρειν, ἄλλας δέ τινας ἐξ εἰκότων τεκμηρίων καὶ μαρτυριῶν ἀποδείξειν φέροντα οὐκ ἄληθεῖς. κελευσθεῖσαν δ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὴν παρθένον τοσοῦτο μόνον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τοῖς ἔργοις ἀπολύσεται τὰς διαβολάς· ταῦτα δ' εἰποῦσαν καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἐπικαλεσαμένην ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ γενέσθαι προάγειν ἐπὶ τὸν Τέβεριν ἐπιτρεψάντων μὲν αὐτῇ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου συμπροπέμποντος· γενομένην δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλησίον τὸ παροιμιαζόμενον ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἀδυνάτων τόλμημα ὑπομεῖναι ἀρυσασμένην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κοσκίνῳ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐνέγκασαν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν ἐξεραῖσαι τὸ ὕδωρ.

61. IBID

III.lxvii.2-3

ἔπειτα ταῖς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις, ὅφ' ὧν τὸ ἄσβεστον φυλάττεται πῦρ, τέτταρσιν οὐσαις δύο προσκατέλεξεν ἑτέρας· πλειόνων γὰρ ἤδη συντελουμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἱερουργιῶν, αἷς ἔδει τὰς τῆς Ἑστίας παρεῖναι θυηπόλους, οὐκ ἐδόκουν αἱ τέτταρες ἀρκεῖν. Ταρκυνίου δὲ ἄρξαντος ἠκολούθουν οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς, καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων ἔξ' ἀποδείκνυνται τῆς Ἑστίας ἀμφίπολοι. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας· αἷς κολάζονται πρὸς τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν αἱ μὴ φυλάττουσαι τὴν παρθενίαν ἐκεῖνος ἐξευρεῖν πρῶτος εἴτε κατὰ λογισμὸν εἴτε, ὥς οἴονταί τινες, ὁ νεῖρω πειθόμενος, ἃς μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἐν τοῖς Σιβυλλείois εὔρεθῆναι χρησμοῖς οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγγηταὶ λέγουσιν· ἐφωράθη γάρ τις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλείας ἱέρεια Πικαρία Ποπλίου θυγάτηρ οὐχ ἄγνη προσιοῦσα τοῖς ἱεροῖς.

62. FESTUS

ed.Lindsay

p.57

Casta mola. Casta mola genus sacrificii, quod Vestales virgines faciebant.

63. IBID

p.94

Ignis. Ignis Vestae si quando interstinctus esset, virgines verberibus adficiebantur a pontifice, quibus mos erat tabulam felicitis materiae tamdiu terebrare, quousque exceptum ignem cribro aenao virgo in aedem ferret.

64. IBID

p.142

Mutini Titini. sacellum fuit in Veliis, adversum murum Mustellinum in ang(istu), de quo aris sublati balnearia sunt (f) acta domus Cn.D (omitii) Calvini, cum mansisset ab urbe condita (ad pri)ncipatum Augusti.

65. IBID

p.152

Muries est, quemadmodum Veranius docet, ea quae fit ex sali sordido, in pila pisato, et in ollam fictilem coniecto, ibique operto gypsatoque et in furno percocto; cui Virgines Vestales serra ferrea secto, et in seriam coniecto, quae est intus in aede Vestae, in penu exteriori, aquam iugem, vel quamlibet, praeterquam quae per fistulas venit, addunt, atque ea demum in sacrificiis utuntur.

66. IBID

p.190

October equus appellatur, qui in campo Martio mense Octobri immolatur quotannis Marti, bigarum victricum dexterior. De cuius capite non levis contentio solebat esse inter Suburanenses, et Sacrauienses, ut hi in regiae pariete. illi ad turrinam Mamiliam id figerent; eiusdemque coda tanta celeritate perfertur in regiam, ut ex ea sanguis destillet in focum, participandae rei divinae gratia. Quem hostiae loco quidam Marti bellico deo sacrari dicunt, non ut vulgus putat, quia velut supplicium de eo sumatur, quod Romani Ilio sunt oriundi, et Troiani ita effigie in equi sint capti.

67. IBID

p.296

Penus. (Penus v)ocatur locus intimus in aede Vestae tegetibus saeptus, qui certis diebus circa Vestalia aperitur. i dies religiosi habentur.

68. IBID

p.310

(Q.S.D.F. Quandoc ste)rcus delatum fas, eo (diem modo in fastis notatur di)es, qui talis est, ut (aedis Vestae purgetur, s)tercusque in alvum ca..., cum id factum sit...ta.

69. IBID

p.320

Rutundam Aedem Vestae Numa Pompilius rex Romanorum consecrasse videtur,

quod eandem esse terram, qua vita hominum sustentaretur, crediderit:
eamque pilae forma [m] esse, ut sui simili templo dea coleretur.

70. IBID

p.454

Senis Crinibus nubentes ornantur, quod [h]is ornatus vetustissimus fuit.
Quidam quod eo Vestales virgines ornentur, quarum castitatem viris
sponoe **a ceteris.

71. IBID

p.458

<Septimontium ...ap>pellatur mense <Decembri...post eum, qui dicitur
in> Fastis Agonalia <quod eo die in septem m>ontibus fiunt sa<crificia:
Palatio, Velia, Fagutali, Subura, <Cermalo, Caelio, Oppio> et Cispio.

72. IBID

p.466

Stercus ex aede Vestae XVII Kal. Iul. defertur in angiportium medium
fere clivi Capitolini, qui locus clauditur porta stercoraria. Tanta
sanctitatis maiores vestri esse iudicaverunt.

73. IBID

p.468

Sex Vestae Sacerdotes constitutae sunt, ut populus pro sua quaque parte
haberet ministram sacrorum; quia civitas Romana in sex est distributa
partis: in primos secundosque Titienses, Ramnes, Luceres.

74. IBID

p.476

Septimontio, ut ait Antistius Labeo, hisce montibus feriae: Palatio,
cui sacrificium quod fit, Palatuar dicitur; Veliae, cui item sacrificium;
Fagu<t>ali, Suburae, Cermalo, Oppio, Caelio monti, Cispio monti.
Oppius autem appellatus est, ut ait Varro rerum humanarum lib.VIII, ab
Opitre Oppio Tusculano, qui cum praesidio Tusculanorum missus ad Romam
tuendam, dum Tullus Hostilius Veios oppugnaret, consederat in Carinis,

et ibi castra habuerat. Similiter Cispium a Laevo Cispio Anagnino, qui eiusdem rei causa eam partem Esquiliarum, quae iacet ad vicum Patricium versus, in qua regione est aedis Mefitis, tuitus est.

75. HERODIAN

I.xi.4-5

κομισθέν δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶς τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ γεγόμενον ἐν ταῖς τοῦ
 θύμβριδος ἐκβολαῖς (ταύταις γὰρ ἀντὶ λιμένων ἐχρῶντο οἱ
 Ῥωμαῖοι) ἔστησε θεία δυνάμει τὸ σκάφος. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ
 πανδημεὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν ναῦν ἐφελκόντων, ἀντεχούσης τῆς ἰλύος
 οὐ πρότερον ἢ ναὺς ἀνέδραμε, πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἱερείαν ἐνεχθῆναι τῆς θεοῦ [ἥτις τῆς
 Ἑστίας ἦν] ταύτην ἔδει παρθενεύεσθαι, αἰτίαν δὲ διαφθορᾶς εἶχεν. μέλλουσα
 δὲ κριθῆσεσθαι, ἱκετεύει τὸν δῆμον ἐπιτρέψαι τῇ Πεσσινουντίᾳ θεῷ
 τὴν κρίσιν· καὶ λυσαμένη τὴν ζώνην ἐπαφῆκε τῇ πρώρᾳ τῆς νεῶς
 προσευξαμένη, εἰ παρθένος εἴη καὶ ἀγνή, πεισθῆναι τὸ σκάφος.
 ῥαδίως δὲ τῆς ζώνης ἐξηρτημένη ἡ ναὺς ἠκολούθησεν· ὁμοῦ δὲ τὸ
 ἐναργὲς τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς παρθένου Ῥωμαῖοι ἐθαύμασαν.

76. IBID

I.xiv.4-5

καταφλέξαν δὲ τὸ πῦρ τὸν τε νεῶν καὶ πάντα τὸν περίβολον ἐπενεμήθη
 καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς πόλεως καὶ κάλλιστα ἔργα· ὅτε καὶ τῆς Ἑστίας
 τοῦ νεῶ καταφλεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς γυμνωθὲν ὤφθη τὸ τῆς
 Παλλάδος ἄγαλμα, οἱ σέβουσί τε καὶ κρύπτουσι Ῥωμαῖοι κομισθέν
 ἀπὸ Τροίας, ὡς λόγος· ὃ τε καὶ πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν ἀπ' Ἰλίου ἐς
 Ἰταλίαν ἀφίξιν εἶδον οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωποι. ἀρπάσασθαι γὰρ τὸ
 ἄγαλμα αἱ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερεῖαι παρθένοι διὰ μέσης τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ἐς
 τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλὴν μετεκόμισαν.

77. IBID

IV.vi.4

τάς τε τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερείας ζώσας κατῴρυττεν ὡς μὴ φυλαττούσας
 τὴν παρθενίαν.

μετ' ἐκείνην δὲ προσποιησάμενος ἔρᾶν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 πράττειν δοκοίη, παρθένου τῇ Ῥωμαίων Ἑστία ἱεραιμένης ἀγνεύειν τε
 πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων κελευμένης καὶ μέχρι τέλους τοῦ βίου
 παρθενεύεσθαι, ἀποσπάσας αὐτὴν τῆς Ἑστίας καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρθενῶνος
 γυναῖκα ἔθετο, ἐπιστείλας τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ παραμυθησάμενος
 ἀσέβημά τε καὶ ἀμάρτημα τηλικούτου φήσας ἀνθρώπινόν τι πεπονθέναι
 πάθος· ἔρωτι γὰρ τῆς κόρης ἐαλωκέναι, ἀρμόζοντά τε καὶ
 σεβάσμιον εἶναι γάμον ἱερέως τε καὶ ἱερείας, πλὴν καὶ ταύτην αὖ
 μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἀπεπέμψατο, τρίτην δὲ πάλιν ἡγάγετο, ἀναφέρουσιν τὸ
 γένος ἐς Κόμοδον. ἔπαιζε δὲ γάμους οὐ μόνον ἀνθρωπεύουσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τῷ θεῷ, ᾧ ἱεράτευσε, γυναῖκα ἐζήτει· καὶ τῆς τε Παλλάδος τὸ ἄγαλμα,
 ὃ κρυπτὸν καὶ ἀόρατον σέβουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάλαμον
 μετήγαγε· καὶ μὴ κινηθὲν ἐξ οὐπερ ἦλθεν ἀπὸ Ἰλίου, εἰ μὴ ὅτε
 πορὶ κατεφλέχθη ὁ νεῶς, ἐκίνησεν οὗτος, καὶ πρὸς γάμον δὴ ἐς
 τὴν βασίλειον αὐλήν τῷ θεῷ ἀνήγαγε· φήσας δὲ ἀπαρέσκεσθαι
 αὐτὸν ὡς πάντα ἐν ὅπλοις καὶ πολεμικῇ θεῷ, τῆς Οὐρανίας τὸ
 ἄγαλμα μετεπέμψατο, σεβόντων αὐτὸ ὑπερφύως Καρχηδονίων τε
 καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἀνθρώπων.

ῥεῖη δὲ δηθεῖσα κρένῳ τέκε φιλίδιμα τέκνα
 Ἰστίην Δήμητρα καὶ Ἥρην χρυσοπέδιλον
 Ἰφθιμόν τ' Αἰδὴν, ὅς ὑπὸ χθονὶ δώματα ναίει
 νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχων, καὶ ἐρίκτυπον Ἐννοσίγαιον
 Ζῆνά τε μητιόεντα, θεῶν πατέρ' ἧδ' ἐ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,
 τοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ βροντῆς πελεμίζεται εὐρεῖα χθών.

οὐδὲ μὲν αἰδοίη κούρη ἄδε ἔργ' Ἀφροδίτης,
 Ἔστίη, ἣν πρώτην τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης,
 αὐτὶς δ' ὀπλοτάτην, βουλῇ Διὸς αἰγίοχοιο,
 πόγνιαν, ἣν ἐμῶντο Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων·
 ἣ δὲ μαλ' οὐκ ἔθελεν, ἀλλὰ στερεῶς ἀπέειπεν·
 ὥμοσε δὲ μέγαν ὄρκον, ὃ δ' ἡ τετελεσμένος ἐστίν.
 ἀψαμένη κεφαλῆς πατρὸς Διὸς αἰγίοχοιο,
 παρθένος ἔσσεσθαι πάντ' ἡμάτι, δῖα θεάων.
 τῇ δὲ πατὴρ Ζεὺς δῶκε καλὸν γέρας ἀντὶ γάμοιο
 καὶ τε μέσῳ οἴκῳ κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο πῖαρ ἐλοῦσα.
 πᾶσιν δ' ἐν νηοῖσι θεῶν τιμάσχος ἐστί
 καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι βροτοῖσι θεῶν πρέσβειρα τέτυκται

81. IBID

XXIV. HESTIA

Ἔστίη, ἣτε ἀνακτος Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο
 Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ ἱερὸν δῶμον ἀμφιπολεύεις,
 αἰεὶ σῶν πλοκάμων ἀπολείβεται ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον·
 ἔρχεο τόνδ' ἀνὰ οἶκον, ἐν' ἔρχεο θυμὸν ἔχουσα
 σὺν Διὶ μητιόεντι· χάριν δ' ἅμ' ὅπασσον ἀοιδῇ

82. IBID

XXIX. HESTIA

Ἔστίη, ἣ πάντων ἐν δώμασιν ὑψηλοῖσιν
 ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων τ' ἀνθρώπων
 ἔδρην αἰδίων ἔλαχες, πρεσβήϊδα τιμῇν,
 καλὸν ἔχουσα γέρας καὶ τίμιον· οὐ γὰρ ἄτερ σοῦ
 εἰλαπίναι θνητοῖσιν, ἔν' οὐ πρώτῃ πυμάτῃ τε
 Ἔστίη ἀρχόμενος σπένδει μελιγδέα οἶνον·
 καὶ σύ μοι, Ἀργειφόντα, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱέ,

ἄγγελε τῶν μακάρων, χρυσόρραπι, δῶτορ ἑάων,
 ἔλαος ὧν ἐπάργη σὺν αἰδοίῃ τε φίλῃ τε.
 ναίετε δῶματα καλά, φίλα φρεσὶν ἀλλήλοισιν
 εἰδότες· ἀμφοτέροι γὰρ ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
 εἰδότες ἔργματα καλὰ νόῳ θ' ἔσπεσθε καὶ ῥῆγ.
 Χαῖρε, Κρόνου θύγατερ, σύ τε καὶ χρυσόρραπις
 Ἑρμῆς.
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμέων τε καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς

83. JUVENAL

SATIRES

IV.8-10

nemo malus felix, minime corruptor et idem
 incestus, cum quo nuper vittata iacebat
 sanguine adhuc vivo terram subitura sacerdos.

84. LACTANTIUS

DIVINARUM INSTITUTIONUM ed.Brant I.20.35

quis non rideat Fornacem deam uel potius doctos uiros celebrandis
 Fornacalibus operari?

85. IBID

I.21.25-27

aput Lampsacum Priapo litabilis uictima est asellus, cuius sacrificii
 ratio in Fastis haec redditur. cum dii omnes ad festum Matris Magnae
 conuenissent epulisque satiati noctem lusibus ducerent, quieuisse humi
 Vestam somnumque cepisse; ibi Priapum somno eius ac pudicitiae
 insidiatum, sed illam intempestiuo clamore aselli quo Silenus uehebatur
 excitatam, libidinem uero insidiatoris esse deceptam; hac de causa
 Lampsacenos asellum Priapo quasi in ultionem mactare consuesse, aput
 Romanos uero eundem Vestalibus sacris in honorem pudicitiae conseruatae
 panibus coronari. quid turpius, quid flagitiosius, quam si Vesta
 beneficio asini uirgo est?

86. LIVY

AB URBE CONDITA

I.xx.3

virgines Vestae legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium et genti conditoris haud alienum. Iis, ut adsiduae templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit, virginitate aliisque caerimoniis venerabiles ac sanctas fecit.

87. IBID

I..xxxiv.1

Anco regnante Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit cupidine maxime ac spe magni honoris, cuius adipiscendi Tarquiniis - nam ibi quoque peregrina stirpe oriundus erat - facultas non fuerat. Demarati Corinthii filius erat, qui ob seditiones domo profugus cum Tarquiniis forte consedisset, uxore ibi ducta duos filios genuit.

88. IBID

I.xxix.1

Inter haec iam praemissi Albam erant equites qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductae ad diruendam urbem.

89. IBID

I.xxx.1-2

Roma interim crescit Albae ruinis. Duplicatur civium numerus; Caelius additur urbi mons, et quo frequentius habitaretur, eam sedem Tullus regiae capit ibique deinde habitavit. Principes Albanorum in patres, ut ea quoque pars rei publicae cresceret, legit, Iulios, Servilios, Quinctios, Geganios, Curiatios, Cloelios;

90. IBID

II.xlii.11

Qui terrores tandem eo evasere ut Oppia virgo Vestalis damnata incesti poenas dederit.

91. IBID

IV.xliv.11

Eodem anno Postumia virgo Vestalis de incestu causam dixit crimine innoxia, ab suspicione propter cultum amoeniorem ingeniumque liberius

quam virginem decet parum abhorrens. Eam ampliatam, deinde absolutam pro collegii sententia pontifex maximus abstinere iocis colique sancte potius quam scite iussit.

92. IBID

V.xxx.5-6

Capitolium, aedem Vestae, cetera circa templa deorum ostentantes; ne exsulem, extorrem populum Romanum ab solo patrio ac dis penatibus in hostium urbem agerent, eoque rem adducerent ut melius fuerit non capi Veios, ne Roma desereretur.

93. IBID

V.xl.7-10

Flamen interim Quirinalis virginesque Vestales omissa rerum suarum cura, quae sacrorum secum ferenda, quae quia vires ad omnia ferenda deerant reliquenda essent consultantes, quisve ea locus fideli adservaturus custodia esset, optimum ducunt condita in doliolis sacello proximo aedibus flaminis Quirinalis, ubi nunc despui religio est, defodere; cetera inter se onere partito ferunt via quae sublicio ponte ducit ad Ianiculum. In eo clivo eas cum L.Albinus de plebe homo conspexisset plaustro coniugem ac liberos avehens inter ceteram turbam quae inutilis bello urbe excedebat salvo etiam tum discrimine divinarum humanarumque rerum religiosum ratus sacerdotes publicas sacraque populi Romani pedibus ire ferrique ac suos in vehiculo conspici, descendere uxorem ac pueros iussit, virgines sacraque in plastrum imposuit et Caere, quo iter sacerdotibus erat, pervexit.

94. IBID

VIII.xv.7

Eo anno Minucia Vestalis suspecta primo propter mundiolem iusto cultum, insimulata deinde apud pontifices ab indice servo, cum decreto eorum iussa esset sacris abstinere familiamque in potestate habere, facto iudicio viva sub terram ad portam Collinam dextra viam stratam defossa

Scelerato campo; credo ab incesto id ei loco nomen factum.

95. IBID

XIX

Cum templum Vestae arderet, Caecilius Metellus, pontifex maximus, ex incendio sacra rapuit.

96. IBID

XX

Tuccia, virgo Vestalis, incesti damnata est.

97. IBID

XXII.x.9

Tum lectisternium per triduum habitum decemviris sacrorum curantibus. Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt: Iovi ac Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Volcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio et Cereri.

98. IBID

XXII.lvii.2-3

Territi etiam super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri compertae et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat; L.Cantilius, scriba pontificius, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio caesus erat, ut inter verbera exspiraret.

99. IBID

XXVI.xxvii.4

Aedis Vestae vix defensa est tredecim maxime servorum opera, qui in publicum redempti ac manu missi sunt.

100. IBID

XXVI.xxvii.13-14

Inventurum in semusto foro consulem vestigia sceleris Campanorum,

Vestae aedem petitam et aeternos ignes et conditum in penetrali fatale
pignus imperi Romani.

101. IBID

XXVIII.xi.6-7

Plus omnibus aut nuntiatis peregre aut visis domi prodigiis terruit
animos hominum ignis in aede Vestae exstinctus, caesaque flagro est
Vestalis cuius custodia eius noctis fuerat iussu P.Licini pontificis.
Id quamquam nihil portendentibus deis ceterum neglegentia humana
acciderat, tamen et hostiis maioribus procurari et supplicationem ad
Vestae haberi placuit.

102. IBID

XXIX.xiv.11-12

Postquam navis ad Ostium amnis Tiberini accessit, sicut erat iussus,
in salum nave evector ab sacerdotibus deam accepit extulitque in terram.
Matronae primores civitatis, inter quas unius Claudiae Quintae insigne
est nomen, accipere; cui dubia, ut traditur, antea fama clariorem ad
posteror tam religioso ministerio pudicitiam fecit.

103. IBID

XLI

Ignis in aede Vestae exstinctus est.

104. IBID

LXXXVI

Ex cuius numero Q.Mucius Scaevola pontifex maximus fugiens in vestibulo
aedis Vestae occisus est.

105. LUCAN

PHARSALIA

VII. 391-396

Tunc omne Latinum

Fabula nomen erit; Gabios Veiosque Coramque

Pulvere vix tectae poterunt monstrare ruinae

Albanosque lares Laurentinosque penates,

Rus vacuum, quod non habitet nisi nocte coacta

Invitus questusque Numam iussisse senator.

106. MACROBIUS SATURNALIA ed. Marinone I.xii.6

huius etiam prima die ignem novum Vestae aris accendebant, ut incipiente anno cura denuo servandi novati ignis inciperet; eodem quoque ingrediente mense tam in regia curiisque atque flaminum domibus laureae veteres novis laureis mutabantur.

107. IBID I.xvii.15

namque virgines Vestales ita indignant: Apollo Medice, Apollo Paeon.

108. IBID III.iv.7

Varro Humanarum secundo Dardanum refert deos Penates ex Samothrace in Phrygiam, et Aeneam ex Phrygia in Italiam detulisse. Qui sint autem di Penates, in libro quidem memorato Varro non exprimit:

109. IBID III.iv.11

τὴν δυνάτην. eodem nomine appellavit et Vestam, quam de numero Penatium aut certe comitem eorum esse manifestum est, adeo ut et consules et praetores seu dictatores, cum adeunt magistratum. Lavinii rem divinam faciant Penatibus pariter et Vestae, sed et Vergilius ubi ex persona Hectoris dixit:

Sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia Penates,
mox adiecit: sic ait et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem
aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.

addidit Hyginus in libro quem de dis Penatibus scripsit vocari eos θεοὺς πατρώους, sed ne hoc Vergilius ignoratum reliquit:

di patrii, servate domum, servate nepotem,

et alibi, patriique Penates.

110. MANILIUS ASTRONOMICA II.444-445

venantem Diana virum, sed partis equinae,
atque angusta foveat Capricorni sidera Vesta;

111. IBID IV.243-246

Vesta tuos, Capricorne, foveat penetralibus ignes;
hinc artes studiumque trahis. nam quidquid in usus
ignis eget poscitque novas ad munera flammās
sub te censendum est.

112. MARTIAL EPIGRAMS I.lxx

Vade salutatum pro me, liber: ire iuberis
ad Proculi nitidos, officiose lares.
quaeris iter, dicam, Vicinum Castora canae
transibis Vestae virgineamque domum.
inde sacro veneranda petes Palatia clivo,
plurima quae summi fulget image ducis.

113. OROSIUS HISTORIA CONTRA PAGANOS ed.Zangemeister II.8.13

cum autem instauraret bellum et ulcisci in victores moliretur, in ipso
apparatu concidit olympiade LXXIIII, hoc est post Urbem conditam anno
CCLXXV, quo tempore Romae Popilia uirgo ob crimen stupri uiua defossa
est.

114. IBID III.9.5

Anno autem post hunc subsequente Minucia uirgo Vestalis ob admissum
incestum damnata est uiuaque obruta in campo, qui nunc sceleratus uocatur.

115. IBID

IV.2.8

Tunc quoque apud Romanos Sextilia uirgo Vestalis conuicta damnataque incesti ad portam Collinam uiua defossa est.

116. IBID

IV.5.9

Eodem tempore Caparronia uirgo Vestalis incesti rea suspendio periit; corruptor eius consciique serui supplicio adfecti sunt.

117. IBID

IV.11.9

dehinc cum omnia in circuitu fori popularetur, aedem Vestae corripuit, et ne sibi quidem dis subuenientibus ignem illum, qui aeternus putabatur, temporarius ignis oppressit; unde etiam Metellus, dum arsuros deos eripit, uix bracchio semiustilatus aufugit.

118. IBID

V.15.22

Paruo post hoc intercessu temporis L.Veturius eques Romanus Aemiliam uirginem Vestalem furtiuo stupro polluit. duas praeterea uirgines Vestales eadem Aemilia ad participationem incesti sollicitatas contubernalibus sui corruptoris exposuit ac tradidit, indicio per seruum facto supplicium de omnibus sumptum est.

119. IBID

VI.3.1

Eodem anno apud Roman Catilina incesti accusatus, quod cum Fabia uirgine Vestali commisisse arguebatur, Catuli gratia fultus euasit.

120. OVID

FASTI

I.527-528

iam pius Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem
adferet: Iliacos accipe, Vesta deos!

121. IBID

I.550-578

traxerat aversos Cacus in antra ferox,
 Cacus, Aventinae timor atque infamia silvae,
 non leve finitimis hospitibusque malum.
 dira viro facies, vires pro corpore, corpus
 grande: pater monstri Mulciber huius erat:
 proque domo longis spelunca recessibus ingens,
 abdita, vix ipsis invenienda feris.
 ora super postes adfixaque brachia pendent,
 squalidaque humanis ossibus albet humus.
 servata male parte boum Iove natus abibat:
 mugitum rauco furta dedere sono.
 "accipio revocamen" ait, vocemque secutus
 impia per silvas ultor ad antra venit.
 ille aditum fracti praestruxerat obice montis;
 vix iuga movissent quinque bis illud opus.
 nititur hic humeris (caelum quoque sederat illis)
 et vastum motu conlabefactat onus.
 quod simul eversum est, fragor aethera terruit ipsum
 ictaque subsedit pondere molis humus.
 prima movet Cacus collata proelia dextra
 remque ferox saxis stipitibusque gerit.
 quis ubi nil agitur, patrias male fortis ad artes
 confugit et flammis ore sonante vomit;
 quas quotiens proflat, spirare Typhoea credas
 et rapidum Aetnaeo fulgur ab igne iaci.
 occupat Alcides, adductaque clava trinodis
 ter quater adverso sedit in ore viri.
 ille cadit mixtosque vomit cum sanguine fumos
 et lato moriens pectore plangit humum.

122. IBID

III.141-142

Vesta quoque ut folio niteat velata recenti
cedit ab Iliacis laurea cana focis

123. IBID

III.421-428

ignibus aeternis aeterni numina praesunt
Caesaris: imperii pignora iuncta vides.
di veteris Troiae, dignissima praeda ferenti,
qua gravis Aeneas tutus ab hoste fuit,
ortus ab Aenea tangit cognata sacerdos
numina: cognatum Vesta, tuere caput!
quos sancta fovet ille manu, bene vivitis ignes:
vivite inextincti, flammaque duxque precor.

124. IBID

IV.637-640

ast ubi visceribus vitulos rapuere ministri
sectaque fumosis exta dedere focis,
igne cremat vitulos quae natu maxima virgo est,
luce Palis populos purget ut ille cinis.

125. IBID

IV.721-730

Nox abiit, oriturque Aurora. Parilia poscor:
non poscor frustra, si favet alma Pales.
alma Pales, faveas pastoria sacra canenti,
prosequor officio si tua festo meo.
certe ego de vitulo cinerem stipulasque fabalis
saepe tuli plena, februa casta, manu:
certe ego transilui positas ter in ordine flammis,
udaque roratas laurea misit aquas.

126. IBID

IV.731-734

i, pete virginea, populus, suffimen ab ara:

Vesta dabit, Vestae munere purus eris.

sanguis equi suffimen erit vitulique favilla,

tertia res durae culmen inane fabae.

127. IBID

IV.827-828

vox fuit haec regis: "condenti, Iuppiter, urbem

et genitor Mavors Vestaque mater, ades;

128. IBID

IV.949-954

aufer Vesta diem! cognati Vesta recepta est

limine: sic iusti constituere patres,

Phoebus habet partem, Vestae pars altera cessit:

quod superest illis, tertius ipse tenet.

state Palatinae laurus, praetextaque quercu

stet domus: aeternos tres habet una deos.

129. IBID

VI.223-234

tum mihi post sacras monstratur Iunius Idus

utilis et nuptis, utilis esse viris,

primaque pars huius thalamis aliena reperta est:

nam mihi sic coniunx sancta Dialis ait:

"donec ab Iliaca placidus purgamina Vesta

detulerit flavis in mare Thybris aquis,

non mihi dentosa crinem depectere buxo

non unguis ferro subsecuisse licet

non tetigisse virum, quamvis Iovis ille sacerdos,

quamvis perpetua sit mihi lege datus.

tu quoque ne propera. melius tua filia nubet,

ignea cum pura Vesta nitebit humo."

130. IBID

VI.249-250

Vesta fave! tibi nunc operata resolvimus ora,
ad tua si nobis sacra venire licet.

131. IBID

VI.257-260

dena quater memorant habuisse Parilia Romam,
cum flammae custos aede recepta dea est
regis opus placidi, quo non metuentius ullum
numinis ingenium terra Sabina tulit.

132. IBID

VI.261-262

quae nunc aere vides, stipula tum tecta videres,
et paries lento vimine textus erat.

133. IBID

VI.267-268

Vesta eadem est et terra: subest vigil ignis utrique:
significant sedem terra focusque suam.

134. IBID

VI.285-286

ex Ope Iunonem memorant Cereremque creatas
semine Saturni, tertia Vesta fuit;

135. IBID

VI.291-294

nec tu aliud Vestam quam vivam intellege flammam,
nataque de flamma corpora nulla vides.
iure igitur virgo est, quae semina nulla remittit
nec capit et comites virginitatis amat.

136. IBID

VI.295-298

esse diu stultus Vestae simulacra putavi,
 mox didici curvo nulla subesse tholo:
 ignis inextinctus templo celatur in illo,
 effigiem nullam Vesta nec ignis habet.

137. IBID

VI.305-310

ante focos olim scamnis considerare longis
 mos erat et mensae credere adesse deos;
 nunc quoque, cum fiunt antiquae sacra Vacunae,
 ante Vacunales stantque sedentque focos.
 venit in hos annos aliquid de more vetusto:
 fert missos Vestae pura patella cibos.

138. IBID

VI.311-318

ecce coronatis panis dependet asellis,
 et velant scabras florida certa molas.
 sola prius furnis torrebant farra coloni
 (et Fornacali sunt sua sacra deae):
 suppositum cineri panem focus ipse parabat,
 strataque erat tepido tegula quassa solo.
 inde focum observat pistor dominamque focorum,
 et quae pumiceas versat asella molas.

139. IBID

VI.319-346

praeteream referamne tuum, rubicunde Priape,
 dedecus? est multi fabula parva ioci.
 turrigera frontem Cybele redimita corona
 convocat aeternos ad sua festa deos.
 convocat et satyros et, rustica numina, nymphas;

Silenus, quamvis nemo vocarat, adest.
 nec licet et longum est epulas narrare deorum:
 in multo nox est pervigilata mero.
 hi temere errabant in opacae vallibus Idae,
 pars iacet et molli gramine membra levat,
 hi ludunt, hos somnus habet, pars brachia nectit
 et viridem celeri ter pede pulsat humum.
 Vesta iacet placidamque capit segura quietem,
 sicut erat, positum caespite fulta caput.
 at ruber hortorum custos nymphasque deasque
 captat et errantes fertque refertque pedes.
 aspicit et Vestam: dubium, nymphamne putarit
 an scierit Vestam, scisse sed ipse negat.
 spem capit obscenam furtimque accedere temptat
 et fert suspensos corde micante gradus.
 forte senex, quo vectus erat, Silenus asellum
 liquerat ad ripas lene sonantis aquae.
 ibat, ut inciperet, longi deus Hellesponti,
 intempestivo cum rudit ille sono.
 territa voce gravi surgit dea; convolat omnis
 turba, per infestas effugit ille manus.
 Lampsacus hoc animal solita est mactare Priapo
 fata: "asini flammis indicis exta damus."

140. IBID

VI.349-394

Nomine quam pretio celebratior arce Tonantis,
 dicam, Pistoris quid velit ara Iovis.
 cincta premebantur trucibus Capitolia Gallis:
 fecerat obsidio iam diuturna famem.
 Iuppiter ad solium superis regale vocatis

"incipel!" ait Marti, protinus ille refert:
 scilicet ignotum est, quae sit fortuna meorum,
 et dolor hic animi voce querentis eget.
 si tamen, ut referam breviter mala iuncta pudori,
 exigis: Alpino Roma sub hoste iacet.
 haec est, cui fuerat promissa potentia rerum.
 Iuppiter? hanc terris impositurus eras?
 iamque suburbanos Etruscaque contudit arma,
 spes erat in cursu: nunc lare pulsa suo est.
 vidimus ornatos aerata per atria picta
 veste triumphales occubuisse senes:
 vidimus Iliacae transferri pignora Vestae
 sede: putant aliquos scilicet esse deos.
 at si respicerent, qua vos habitatis in arce,
 totque domos vestras obsidione premi,
 nil opis in cura scirent superesse deorum
 et data sollicita tura perire manu.
 atque utinam pugnave pateat locus! arma capessant
 et, si non poterunt exsuperare, cadant.
 nunc inopes victus ignavaque fata timentes
 monte suo clausos barbara turba premit."
 tunc Venus et lituo pulcher trabeaque Quirinus
 Vestaque pro Latio multa locuta suo est.
 "publica" respondit "cura est pro moenibus istis,"
 Iuppiter "et poenas Gallia victa dabit.
 tu modo, quae desunt fruges, superesse putentur
 effice, nec sedes desere, Vesta, tuas.
 quodcumque est solidae Cereris, cava machina frangat,
 mollitamque manu duret in igne focus."
 iusserat, et fratris virgo Saturnia iussis

annuit. et mediae tempora noctis erant,
iam ducibus somnum dederat labor: increpat illos
Iuppiter et sacro, quid velit, ore docet:
"surgite et in medios de summis arcibus hostes
mittite, quam minime tradere voltis opem!"
somnus abit, quaeruntque novis ambagibus acti,
tradere quam nolint et iubeantur opem.
esse Ceres visa est; iaciunt Cerealia dona,
iacta super galeas scutaque longa sonant.
posse fame vinci spes excidit, hoste repulso
candida Pistori ponitur ara Iovi.

141. IBID

VI.429-460

servat et inclusam summa tenet Ilus in arce,
curaque ad heredem Laomedonta redit.
sub Priamo servata parum: sic ipsa volebat,
ex quo iudicio forma revicta sua est.
seu genus Adrasti, seu furtis aptus Ulixes,
seu pius Aeneas eripuisset eam,
auctor in incerto, res est Romana: tuetur
Vesta, quod assiduo lumine cuncta videt.
heu quantum timuere patres, quo tempore Vesta
arsit et est tectis obruta paene suis!
flagrabant sancti sceleratis ignibus ignes,
mixtaque erat flammae flamma profana piae,
attonitae flebant demisso crine ministrae;
abstulerat vires corporis ipse timor.
provolat in medium, et magna "succurrite"! voce
"non est auxilium flere" Metellus ait.
"pignora virgineis fatalia tollite palmis:

non ea sunt voto, sed rapienda manu.
 me miserum! dubitatis?" ait. dimittere videbat
 et pavidus posito procubuisse genu.
 haurit aquas tollensque manus, "ignoscite," dixit
 "sacra! vir intrabo non adeunda viro.
 si scelus est, in me commissi poena redundet:
 sit capitis damno Roma soluta mei."
 dixit et irrupit. factum dea rapta probavit
 pontificisque sui munere tuta fuit.
 nunc bene lucetis sacrae sub Caesare flammae:
 ignis in Iliacis nunc erit usque focus,
 nullaque dicetur vittas temerasse sacerdos
 hoc duce nec viva defodietur humo.
 sic incesta perit, quia quam violavit, in illam
 conditur, et Tellus Vestaque numen idem.

142. IBID

TRISTIA

I.iii.43-47

illa etiam ante Lares passis adstrata capillis
 contigit extinctos ore tremante focos,
 multaque in adversos effudit verba Penates
 pro deplorato non valitura viro

143. PAULUS

ed.Lindsay

p.14

ARGEOS vocabant scirpeas effigies, quae per virgines Vestales annis
 singulis iaciebantur in Tiberim.

144. IBID

p.143

MUTINI TITINI sacellum Romae fuit, cui mulieres velatae togis
 praetextatis solebant sacrificare.

145. IBID

p.153

MURIES dicebatur sal in pila tunsum et in ollam fictilem coniectum et in furno percoctum, quo dehinc in aquam misso Vestales virgines utebantur in sacrificio.

146. IBID

p.191

OCTUBER EQUUS appellabatur, qui in campo Martio mense Octobri Marti immolabatur. De cuius capite magna erat contentio inter Suburanenses et Sacravienses, ut hi in regiae pariete, illi ad turrem Mamiliam id figerent. Cuius cauda, ut ex ea sanguis in focum destillaret, magna celeritate perferebatur in regiam.

147. IBID

p.273

PILAE ET EFFIGIES viriles et muliebres ex lana Compitalibus suspendebantur in compitis, quod hunc diem festum esse deorum inferorum, quos vocant Lares, putarent, quibus tot pilae, quot capita servorum; tot effigies, quot essent liberi, ponebantur, ut vivis parcerent et essent his pilis et simulacris contenti.

148. IBID

p.311

QUANDOC STERCUS DELATUM FAS eodem modo in fastis notatur dies, quo stercus purgatur ab aede Vestae.

149. IBID

p.449

SCEL[ER]ATUS CAMPUS appellatur proxime portam Collinam, in quo virgines Vestales, quae incestum fecerunt, defossae sunt.

150. IBID

p.459

SEPTIMONTIUM appellabant diem festum, quod in septem locis faciebant sacrificium: Palatio, Velia, Fagutali[a], Subura, Cermallo, Caelio,

Oppio et Cispio.

151. IBID

p.475

SUFFIBULUM vestimentum album, praetextum, quadrangulum, oblongum, quod in capite Vestales virgines sacrificantes habebant, idque fibula comprehendebatur.

152. IBID

p.475

SEX VESTAE SACERDOTES constitutae erant, ut populus pro sua quisque parte haberet ministram sacrorum, quia civitas Romana in sex erat distributa partes: in primos secundosque Titienses, Ramnes, Luceres.

153. PINDAR

NEMEAN ODES

XI.1-2

Παῖ ῥέας, ἃ τε πρυτανεῖα λογοχῶς. ἔστιν,
Ζηνὸς ὑψίστου κασιγνήτα καὶ ὁμοθρόνου Ἥρας

154. PLINY THE ELDER

NATURAL HISTORY

III.56

in principio est Ostia colonia a Romano rege deducta, oppidum Laurentum, lucus Iovis Indigetis, amnis Numicius, Ardea a Danae Persei matre condita.

155. IBID

XI.25

invenitur statua decreta et Taracia Gaiae sue Fufetiae virgini Vestali, ut poneretur ubi vellet, quod adiectum non minus honoris habet quam feminae esse decretam. meritum eius ipsis ponam annalium verbis: quod campum Tiberinum gratificata esset ea populo.

156. IBID

XVI.lxxxv.235

antiquior, sed incerta eius aetas, quae capillata dicitur, quoniam

Vestalium virginum capillus ad eam defertur.

157. IBID

XVIII.ii.7

Numa instituit deos fruge colere et mola salsa supplicare atque, ut auctor est Hemina, far torrere, quoniam tostum cibo salubrius esset, id uno modo consecutus, statuendo non esse purum ad rem divinam nū tostum.

158. IBID

XVIII.ii.8

is et Fornacalia instituit farris torrendi ferias et aequae religiosas Terminis agrorum:

159. IBID

XVIII.x.61

e diverso far, milium, panicum purgari nisi tosta non possunt; itaque haec cum suis folliculis seruntur cruda, et far in vaginulis suis servant ad satus atque non torrent.

160. IBID

XVIII.xi.62

populum Romanum farre tantum e frumento ccc annis usum Verrius tradit.

161. IBID

XVIII.xx.92

ex arinca dulcissimus panis; ipsa spissior quam far, et maior spica, eadem et ponderosior: raro modius grani non xvi libras implet. exteritur in Graecia difficulter, ob id iumentis dari ab Homero dicta: haec enim est quam olyram vocat; eadem in Aegypto facilis fertilisque.

162. IBID

XVIII.xxiii.97

Pistura non omnium facilis, quippe Etruria spicam farris tosti pisente pilo praeferato, fistula serrata et stella intus denticulata, ut, si intenti pisant, concidantur grana ferrumque frangatur. maior pars

Italiae nudo utitur pilo, rotis etiam quas aqua verset obiter et mola.

163. IBID

XVIII.xxviii

Pistores Romae non fuere ad Persicum usque bellum annis ab urbe condita super DLXXX, ipsi panem faciebant Quirites, mulierumque id opus maxime erat, sicut etiam nunc in plurimis gentium. artoptas iam Plautus appellat in fabula quam Aululariam inscripsit, magna ob id concertatione erudi torum an is versus poetae sit illius, certumque fit Ateii Capitonis sententia cocos tum panem lautioribus coquere solitos, pistoresque tantum eos qui far pisebant nominatos; nec cocos vero habebant in servitiis, eosque ex macello conducebant.

164. IBID

XXVIII.iii.12

extat Tucciae Vestalis incesti deprecatio qua usa aquam in cribo tulit annos urbis DXVIII

165. IBID

XXVIII.iii.13

Vestales nostras rhodie credimus nondum egressa urbe mancipia fugitiva retinere in loco precatone.

166. IBID

XXVIII.v.27

cibus etiam e manu prolapsus reddebatur utique per mensas, vetabantque munditiarum causa deflare, et sunt condita auguria, quid loquenti cogitanti id acciderit, inter execratissima, si pontifici accidat dicis causa epulanti. in mensa utique id reponi adolerique ad Larem piatio est.

167. IBID

XXVIII.vii.39

quamquam religione tutatur et Fascinus imperatorum quoque, non solum infantium custos, qui deus inter sacra Romana a Vestalibus colitur...

168. PLINY THE YOUNGER

EPISTLES

IV.xi.5-9

Fremerbat enim Domitianus aestuabatque in ingenti invidia destitutus. Nam cum Corneliam Vestalium maximam defodere vivam concupisset, ut qui inlustrari saeculum suum eiusmodi exemplis arbitraretur, pontificis maximi iure, seu potius immanitate tyranni licentia domini, reliquos pontifices non in Regiam sed in Albanam villam convocavit. Nec minore scelere quam quod ulcisci videbatur, absentem inauditamque damnavit incesti, cum ipse fratris filiam incesto non polluisset solum verum etiam occidisset; nam vidua abortu periit. Missi statim pontifices qui defodiendam necandamque curarent. Illa nunc ad Vestam, nunc ad ceteros deos manus tendens, multa sed hoc frequentissime clamitabat: "Me Caesar incestam putat, qua sacra faciente vicit triumphavit!" Elandiens haec an inridens, ex fiducia sui an ex contemptu principis dixerit, dubium est. Dixit donec ad supplicium, nescio an innocens, certe tamquam innocens ducta est. Quin etiā cum in illud subterraneum demitteretur, haesissetque descendenti stola, vertit se ac recollegit, cumque ei manum carnifex daret, aversata est et resiliuit foedumque contactum quasi plane a casto puroque corpore novissima sanctitate reiecit omnibusque numeris pudoris πολλήν πρόνοιαν ἔσχευ εὐσχημῶν πεσεῖν.

169. IBID

VII.xix.1

Angit me Fanniae valetudo. Contraxit hanc dum adsidet Iuniae virgini, sponte primum (est enim adfinis), deinde etiam ex auctoritate pontificum. Nam virgines, cum vi morbi atrio Vestae coguntur excedere, matronarum curae custodiaeque mandantur.

170. PLUTARCH

NUMA

IX.5-8

ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων ἐπίσκοπος, ὃς Ἑστιάδας προσαγορεύουσι. Νουμᾶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑστιάδων παρθένων καθιέρωσιν καὶ ὅλως τὴν

περὶ τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀθάνατον, ὃ φυλάττουσιν αὐται, θεραπείαν τε καὶ
 τιμὴν ἀποδιδάσιν, εἴτε ὡς καθαρὰν καὶ ἄφθαρτον τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς
 οὐσίαν ἀκηράτοις καὶ ἀμιάντοις παρατιθεμένου σώμασιν, εἴτε τὸ
 ἄκαρπον καὶ ἄγονον τῇ παρθενίᾳ συνοικειοῦντος. ἐπεὶ τοι τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος ὅπου πῦρ ἄσβεστόν ἐστιν, ὡς Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ
 παρθένοι, γυναῖκες δὲ πεπαυμένοι γάμων ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν.
 ἐὰν δὲ ὑπὸ τύχης τινὸς ἐκλίπῃ, καθάπερ Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς
 Ἀριστίωνος λέγεται τυραννίδος ἀποσβεσθῆναι τὸν ἱερὸν λύχνον, ἐν
 Δελφοῖς δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ καταπρησθέντος ὑπὸ Μήδων, περὶ δὲ τὰ
 Μιθριδατικά καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον ἅμα τῷ βωμῷ τὸ
 πῦρ ἠφανίσθη, οὐ φασι δεῖν ἀπὸ ἑτέρου πυρὸς ἐναύεσθαι, καινὸν δὲ
 ποιεῖν καὶ νέον, ἀνάπτοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγα καθαρὰν καὶ
 ἀμιάντον. ἐξάπτουσι δὲ μάλιστα τοῖς σκαφεῖοις, ἃ κατασκευάζεται μὲν
 ἀπὸ πλευρᾶς ἰσοσκελοῦς ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου κοιλαινόμενα συννεύει
 δ' εἰς ἓν ἐκ τῆς περιφερείας κέντρον. ὅταν οὖν θέσιν ἐναντίαν λάβῃ
 πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, ὥστε τὰς αὐγὰς πανταχόθεν ἀνακοπτομένας ἀθροίζεσθαι
 καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι περὶ τὸ κέντρον, αὐτόν τε διακρίνει τὸν ἀέρα
 λεπτυνόμενον, καὶ τὰ κουφότατα καὶ ξηρότατα τῶν προστιθεμένων
 ὁξέως ἀνάπτει κατὰ τὴν ἀντέρεισιν, σῶμα καὶ πληγὴν πυρώδη τῆς
 αὐγῆς λαβούσης. ἐνιοὶ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων ἀλλ' ἢ
 τὸ ἄσβεστον ἐκεῖνο φρουρεῖσθαι πῦρ νομίζουσιν· ἐνιοὶ δὲ εἶναί πινά
 φασιν ἀθέατα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερὰ κρυπτόμενα, περὶ ὧν ὅσα καὶ
 πυθέσθαι καὶ φράσαι θεμιτὸν ἐν τῷ Καμίλλου βίῳ γέγραπται.

171. IBID

X.1-2

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ Νομᾶ καθιερωθῆναι λέγουσι Γεγανίαν καὶ Βεργινίαν,
 δεύτερον δὲ Κανουληγίαν καὶ Ταρπηγίαν· ὕστερον δὲ Σερβίου δύο
 προσθέντος ἄλλας τῷ ἀριθμῷ διατηρεῖσθαι μέχρι τῶν χρόνων τούτων
 τὸ πλῆθος. ὠρίσθη δὲ ταῖς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως
 Ἀγκεία τριακονταέτις, ἐν ᾗ τὴν μὲν πρώτην δεκαετίαν ἃ χρὴ

δρᾶν μαθηθῶσι. τὴν δὲ μέσην ἃ μαθηθήκασιν δρῶσι, τὴν δὲ τρίτην
ἑτέρας αὐταὶ διδάσκουσιν. εἴτα ἀνείται τῇ βουλομένῃ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον
τοῦτον ἤδη καὶ γάμου μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον τραπέεσθαι βίον,
ἀπαλλαγείσῃ τῆς ἱερουργίας. λέγονται δὲ οὐ πολλὰ ταύτην ἀσπάζεσθαι
τὴν ἄδειαν, οὐδὲ ἀσπασαμέναις χρηστὰ πράγματα συντυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ
μετανοία καὶ κατηφείᾳ συνοῦσαι τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἐμβαλεῖν τὰς ἄλλας
εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν, ὥστε μέχρι γήρως καὶ θανάτου διατελεῖν
ἐγκαρτερούσας καὶ παρθενευομένας.

172. IBID

X.3-7

Τιμᾶς δὲ μεγάλας ἀπέδωκεν αὐταῖς, ὧν ἔστι καὶ τὸ διαθέσθαι ζῶντος
ἐξεῖναι πατρὸς καὶ τᾶλλα πράττειν ἄνευ προστάτου διαγούσας, ὥσπερ αἱ
τρίπαιδες. ῥάβδουχούνται δὲ προϊούσαι· καὶ ἀγομένῃ τινὶ πρὸς θάνατον
αὐτομάτως συντύχωσιν, οὐκ ἀναιρεῖται. δεῖ δὲ ἀπομόσαι τὴν
παρθένον ἀκούσιον καὶ τυχαίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐξεπίτηδες γεγονέναι τὴν
ἀπάντησιν. ὁ δὲ ὑπελθὼν κομιζομένων ὑπὸ τὸ φορεῖον ἀποθνήσκει.
κόλασις δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἁμαρτημάτων πληγαὶ ταῖς παρθένοις, τοῦ
μεγίστου Ποντίφικος κολάζοντος ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ γυμνὴν τὴν
πλημμελήσαν, ὀθόνης ἐν παλινσκίῳ παρατεينوμένης· ἡ δὲ τὴν
παρθενίαν κατασχύνασα ζῶσα κατορύττεται παρὰ τὴν κολλίτην
λεγομένην πύλην· ἐν ᾗ τις ἔστιν ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως ὀφρύς γεώδης
παρατείνουσα πόρρω· καλεῖται δὲ χῶμα διαλέκτῳ τῇ Λατίνων,
ἐνταῦθα κατασκευάζεται κατάγειος οἶκος οὐ μέγας, ἔχων ἄνωθεν
κατάβασιν. κεῖται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κλίνη τε ὑπεστρωμένη καὶ λύχνος
καίόμενος, ἀπαρχαί τε τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαίων βραχεῖαί τινες,
οἶον ἄρτος, ὕδωρ ἐν ἀγγεῖῳ, γάλα, ἔλαιον, ὥσπερ ἀφοσιουμένων τὸ
μὴ λιμῇ διαφθεῖρειν σῶμα ταῖς μεγίσταις καθιερωμένον ἀγιστείαις.
αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν κολαζομένην εἰς φορεῖον ἐνθέμενοι καὶ καταστεγάζσαντες
ἐξώθεν καὶ καταλαβόντες ἱμάσιν, ὡς μηδὲ φωνὴν ἐξάκουστον γενέσθαι,
κομίζουσι δι' ἀγορᾶς. ἐξίστανται δὲ πάντες σιωπῇ καὶ παραπέμπουσιν

ἀφθογγοὶ μετὰ τινος δεινῆς κατηφείας· οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ἕτερον θέαμα
φρικτότερον, οὐδ' ἡμέραν ἢ πόλιν ἄλλην ἄγει στυγνοτέρην ἐκείνης.
ἔταν δὲ πρὸς τὸν τόπον κομισθῇ τὸ φορεῖον, οἱ μὲν ὑπηρεταὶ τοὺς
δεσμούς ἐξέλυσαν, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἱερέων ἑξάρχος εὐχὰς τινας ἀπορρήτους
ποιησάμενος καὶ χεῖρας ἀνατείνας θεοῖς πρὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἐξάγει
συγκεκαλυμμένην καὶ καθίστησιν ἐπὶ κλίμακος εἰς τὸ οἶκῆμα κάτω
φερούσης. εἶτα αὐτὸς μὲν ἀποτρέπεται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων· τῆς δὲ
καταβάσης ἢ τε κλίμαξ ἀναιρεῖται καὶ κατακρύπτεται τὸ οἶκῆμα γῆς
πολλῆς ἀνωθεν ἐπιφορουμένης, ὥστε ἰσόπεδον τῷ λοιπῷ χώματι
γενέσθαι τὸν τόπον. οὕτω μὲν αἱ προέμεναι τὴν ἱερὰν παρθενίαν
κολάζονται.

173. IBID

XI.1-2

Νομᾶς δὲ λέγεται καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερὸν ἐγκύκλιον περιβαλέσθαι τῷ
ἀσβέστῳ πυρὶ φρουράν, ἀπομιμούμενος οὐ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς ὡς Ἑστίας
οὕσης, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, οὗ μέσον οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ τὸ πῦρ
ἰδρῦσθαι νομίζουσι, καὶ τοῦτο Ἑστίαν καλοῦσι καὶ μονάδα· τὴν δὲ
γῆν οὔτε ἀκίνητον οὔτε ἐν μέσῳ τῆς περιφορᾶς οὖσαν, ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ
περὶ τὸ πῦρ αἰωρουμένην οὐ τῶν τιμιωτάτων οὐδὲ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ
κόσμου μορίων ὑπάρχειν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα φασὶ πρεσβύτην
γενόμενον διανενοῆσθαι περὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἐν ἑτέρᾳ χώρᾳ καθεστῶσης,
τὴν δὲ μέσῃν καὶ κυριωτάτῃν ἑτέρῳ τινὶ κρείττονι προσήκουσαν.

174. IBID

ROMULUS

XXII.1

λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ πῦρ ἁγιστείαν Ῥωμύλον καταστήσαι
πρῶτον, ἀποδείξαντα παρθένους ἱερὰς Ἑστιάδας προσαγορευόμενας.

175. IBID

XXIII.1

ἔτει δὲ πέμπτῳ τῆς Τατίου βασιλείας, οἰκεῖοί τινες αὐτοῦ καὶ
συγγενεῖς πρέσβειν ἀπὸ Λαυρέντου βαδίζουσιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐντυχόντες

καθ' ὁδόν, ἐπεχείρουν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ χρήματα βία, καὶ μὴ προΐεμένους,
ἀλλ' ἀμυνομένους ἀνεῖλον.

176. IBID

ROMAN QUESTIONS

lxxxiii

ἀποφνημαμένων δὲ τῶν μάντεων δεινὴν μὲν αἰσχύνην ταῖς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις
εἶναι καὶ γενήσεσθαι περιβόητον, ἄφεσθαι δὲ τινα καὶ ἱππέων ὕβριν,
ἐμήνυσε βάρβαρος τινὸς ἱππικοῦ θεράπων τρεῖς παρθέτους τῶν ἐστιάδων,
Αἰμιλίαν καὶ Λικινίαν καὶ Μαρκίαν, ὑπὸ ταῦτό διεφθαρμένας καὶ συνούσας
πολὺν χρόνον ἀνδράσιν, ὧν εἰς ἣν βετούτιος βάρρος τοῦ μηνυτοῦ
δεσπότης.

177. IBID

xcvi.

Διὰ τί τῶν παναγῶν παρθένων τὰς διαφθαρείσας ἄλλως οὐ κολάζουσιν
ἀλλὰ ζώσας κατορύττουσι;
Πότερον ὅτι καίουσιν τοὺς ἀποθανόντας θάπτειν δὲ πυρὶ τὴν τὸ πῦρ τὸ
θεῖον ὁσίων μὴ φυλάξασαν οὐκ ἦν δίκαιον;
ἢ σῶμα ταῖς μεγίσταις καθωσιωμένον ἀγιστεῖαι ἀταιρεῖν καὶ προσφέρειν
ἱερᾷ γυναικὶ χεῖρας οὐ θεμιτὸν ἐνόμιζον; αὐτὴν οὖν ἀποθάνειν μηχανόμενοι
δι' αὐτῆς, κατεβίβασον ὑπὸ γῆν εἰς οἶκημα πεποιημένον, ὅπου καὶ λύχνος
ἔκειτο καίμενος καὶ ἄρτος καὶ γάλακτός τι καὶ ὕδατος· εἶτα γῇ τὸ
οἶκημα κατέκρυπτον ἄνωθεν, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀφοσιωσάμενοι
τὴν δεισιδαμονίαν ἐκπεφεύγασιν, ἀλλὰ μέχρι νῦν ἐναγίζουσιν οἱ
ἱερεῖς ἐκεῖ βαδίζοντες ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον.

178. PROPERTIUS

IV.i.21-22

Vesta coronatis pauper gaudebat asellis

ducebant macrae vilia sacra boves.

179. PRUDENTIUS CONTRA ORATIONEM SYMMACHI II.965-972

his, ni fallor, ager vitiis corruptus et ante
 subiacuit quam Palladium, quam Vesta penates
 sub lare Pergameo servarent igne reposito,
 quam Priami genitor conductis moenia fabris
 extrueret, quam virgo suas fundaret Athenas
 Pallas; in his quoniam Vestalis origo favillae
 urbibus, ut memorant, primo de fomite sumpta est
 sacraruntque focos aut Phryx aut Graius alumnos

180. IBID II.1064-1095

quae nunc Vestalis sit virginitatis honestas
 discutiam, qua lege regat decus omne pudoris.
 ac primum parvae teneris capiuntur in annis
 ante voluntatis propriae quam libera secta,
 laude pudicitiae fervens et amore deorum
 iusta maritali condempnet vincula sexus.
 captivus pudor ingratis addicitur aris,
 nec contempta perit miseris sed adempta voluptas
 corporis intacti: non mens intacta tenetur,
 nec requies datur ulla toris, quibus innuba caecum
 vulnus et amissas suspirat femina taedas:
 tum quia non totum spes salva interficit ignem.
 nam resides quandoque faces adolere licebit
 festaque decrepitis obtendere flammea canis;
 tempore praescripto membra intemerata requirens
 tandem virgineam fastidit Vesta senectam.
 dum thalamis habilis tumuit vigor, inrita nullus
 fecundavit amor materno viscera partu:
 nubet anus veterana sacro perfuncta labore,

desertisque focis, quibus est famulata iuventus,
 transfert emeritas ad fulcra iugalia rugas,
 discit et in gelido nova nupta tepescere lecto,
 interea dum torta vagos ligat infula crines
 fatalesque adolet prunas innupta sacerdos,
 fertur per medias ut publica pompa plateas
 pilento residens molli, seque ore relecto
 inputat attonitae virgo spectabilis urbi.
 inde ad consessum caveae pudor almus et expers
 sanguinis it pietas hominum visura cruentos
 congressus mortesque et vulnera vendita pastu
 spectatura sacris oculis. sedet illa verendis
 vittarum insignis phaleris fruiturque lanistis.

181. IBID

II.1102-1113

hoc illud meritum est, quod continuare feruntur
 excubias Latii pro maiestate Palati,
 quod redimunt vitam populi procerumque salutem,
 perfundunt quia colla comis bene vel bene cingunt
 tempora taeniolis et licia crinibus addunt,
 et quia subter humum lustrales testibus umbris
 in flammam iugulant pecudes et murmura miscent?
 an quoniam podii meliore in parte sedentes
 spectant aeratam faciem quam crebra tridenti
 inpacto quatiant hastilia, saucius et quam
 vulneribus patulis partem perfundat harenae
 cum fugit, et quanto vestigia sanguine signet?

182. IBID

PERISTEPHANON LIBER

II.525-528

vittatus olim pontifex

adscitur in signum crucis
 aedemque, Laurenti, tuam
 Vestalis intrat Claudia.

183. SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE ELAGABALUS III.4

Sed ubi primum ingressus est urbem, omissis quae in provincia gerebantur, Heliogabalum in Palatino monte iuxta aedes imperatorias consecravit eique templum fecit, studens et Matris typum et Vestae ignem et Palladium et ancilia et omnia Romanis veneranda in illud transferre templum et id agens, ne quis Romae deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur.

184. IBID

VI.6-9

In virginem Vestalem incestum admisit. sacra populi Romani sublatis penetralibus profanavit. ignem perpetuum exstinguere voluit. nec Romanas tantum exstinguere voluit religiones, sed per orbem terrae, unum studens, ut Heliogabalus deus ubique coleretur, et in penum Vestae, quod solae virgines solique pontifices adeunt, inrupit, pollutus ipse omni contagione morum cum iis qui se polluerant. et penetrale sacrum est auferre conatus cumque seriam quasi veram rapuisset, quam ei virgo maxima falsam monstraverat, atque in ea nihil repperisset, adplosam fregit. nec tamen quicquam religioni dempsit, quia plures similes factae dicuntur esse, ne quis veram umquam possit auferre. haec cum ita essent, signum tamen quod Palladium esse credebat abstulit et auro tinctum in sui dei templo locavit.

185. IBID

VALERIANI DUO

VI.6

excepto denique praefecto urbis Romae, exceptis consulibus ordinariis et sacrorum rege ac maxima Virgine Vestalium (si tamen incorrupta permanebit) de omnibus sententias feres. laborabunt autem etiam illi,

ut tibi placeant, de quibus non potes iudicare.

186. SERVIUS AD AENEAM ed. Thilo & Hagen II.296

Vestam deam ignis, quae, ut supra (I.292) diximus, terra est: quod in medio mundo librata vi sua stet et ignem intra se habeat. alii de igne divino hoc volunt dictum, quod vi sua stet, inde Vestam. sed in primo libro (378) dictum, quos deos penates ab Aenea advectos diversorum opinio prodiderit; quod etiam singulis locis, ubi de penatibus varias opiniones poeta secutus dixerit, notatum invenitur. hic ergo quaeritur, utrum Vesta etiam de numero penatium sit, an comes eorum accipiatur, quod cum consules et praetores sive dictator abeunt magistratu, Lavini sacra penatibus simul et Vestae faciunt: unde Vergilius, cum praemisisset "sacra suosque tibi c.T.p.". adiecit "et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem", sed "potentem" potest ad illud accipi θεὸς Συνατοῦς, sicut vocari penates dictum est. non nulli tamen penates esse dixerunt, per quos penitus spiramus et corpus habemus et animi rationes possidemus.

187. IBID

III.12

CVM SOCIIS NATOQVE PENATIBVS ET MAGNIS DIS duo humana posuit et duo divina: patris non fit mentio, quia secundum Vergilium ad Italiam non venit. PENATIBVS ET MAGNIS DIS Varro quidem unum esse dicit penates et magnos deos; nam et in basi scribebatur MAGNIS DIIS. potest tamen hoc pro honore dici; nam dii magni sunt Iuppiter Iuno Minerva Mercurius, qui Romae colebantur, penates vero apud Laurolavinium: unde apparet non esse unum. id est Varro et alii complures magnos deos adfirmant simulacra duo virilia, Castoris et Pollucis, in Samothracia ante portam sita quibus naufragio liberati vota solvebant. alii deos magnos Caelum ac Terram putant ac per hoc Iovem et Iunonem. dii penates a Samothracia sublatis ab Aenea in Italiam advecti sunt, unde

Samothraces cognati Romanorum esse dicuntur. quos inter cetera ideo magnos appellant, quod de Lavinio translati Romam bis in locum suum redierint: quod imperatores in provincias ituri apud eos primum immolarint: quod eorum nomina nemo sciat: quod praesentissimi sentiantur; nam cum ambae virgines in templo deorum Lavini simul dormirent, ea quae minus casta erat fulmine exanimata alteram nihil sensisse. quos Romani penitus in cultu habent, quos nisi sacerdoti videre fas nulli sit, qui ideo penates appellantur, quod in penetralibus aedium coli soleant; nam et ipsum penetral penus dicitur, ut hodie quoque penus Vestae claudi vel aperiri dicitur.

188. IBID

VII.188

septem fuerunt pignora, quae imperium Romanum tenent: aius matris deum, quadriga fictilis Veientanorum, cineres Orestis, sceptrum Priami, velum Ilionae, palladium, ancilia.

189. IBID

VIII.190

SVSPENSAM HANC ASPICE RVPEM Cacus secundum fabulam Vulcani filius fuit, ore ignem ac fumum vomens, qui vicina omnia populabatur. veritas tamen secundum philologos et historicos hoc habet, hunc fuisse Euandri nequissimum servum ac furem. novimus autem malum a Graecis *κακόν* dici; quem ita illo tempore Arcades appellabant. postea translato accentu Cacus dictus est, ut *Ἑλένη* Helena. ignem autem dictus est vomere, quod agros igne populabatur. hunc soror sua eiusdem nominis prodidit: unde etiam sacellum meruit, in quo ei per virgines Vestae sacrificabatur.

190. IBID

XI.211

adnotandum sane quod "focos" dixerit pyras, cum focus ara sit deorum penatium, an quod focum dicat ubicumque ignis est et fovetur: unde et

Varro focum dici vult.

191. IBID

ECLOGUES

VIII.82

Virgines Vestales tres maximae ex nonis Maiis ad pridie Idus Maias alternis diebus spicas adoreas in corbibus messuariis ponunt easque spicas ipsae virgines torrent pinsunt, molunt, atque ita molitum condunt. Ex eo farre virgines ter in anno molam faciunt, Lupercalibus, Vestalibus, Idibus Septembribus, adiecto sale cocto et sale duro.

192. SILIUS ITALICUS

PUNICA

VI.74-77

Marus (vetus ille parentis
miles et haud surda tractarat proelia fama)
procedit, renovata focis et paupere Vesta
lumina praetendens.

193. SUETONIUS

CAESAR

i.

Quare et sacerdotio et uxoris dote et gentilicis hereditatibus multatus diversarum partium habebatur, ut etiam discedere e medio et quamquam morbo quartanae adgravante prope per singulas noctes commutare latebras cogeretur seque ab inquisitoribus pecunia redimeret, donec per virgines Vestales perque Mamercum Aemilium et Aurelium Cottam propinquos et adfines suos veniam impetravit.

194. IBID

lxxxiii.1

Postulante ergo Lucio Pisone socero testamentum eius aperitur recitaturque in Antoni domo, quod Idibus Septembribus proximis in Lavicano suo fecerat demandaveratque virgini Vestali maximae.

195. IBID

AUGUSTUS

xxxi.3

Sacerdotum et numerum et dignitatem sed et commoda auxit, praecipue

Vestalium virginum. Cumque in demortuae locum aliam capi oporteret ambirentque multi ne filias in sortem darent, adiuravit, si cuiquam neptium suarum competeret aetas, oblatum se fuisse eam.

196. IBID

xliv.2

Feminis ne gladiatores quidem, quos promiscue spectari solemne olim erat, nisi ex superiore loco spectare concessit. Solis virginibus Vestalibus locum in theatro separatim et contra praetoris tribunal dedit.

197. IBID

ci.1

Testamentum L.Planco C.Silio cons. III Non. Apriles, ante annum et quattuor menses quam decederet, factum ab eo ac duobus codicibus partim ipsius partim libertorum Polybi et Hilarionis manu scriptum depositumque apud se virgines Vestales cum tribus signatis aequae voluminibus protulerunt.

198. IBID

NERO

xii.4

Ad athletarum spectaculum invitavit et virgines Vestales quia Olympiae quoque Cereris sacerdotibus spectare conceditur.

199. IBID

VITELLIUS

xvi . 1

Suasitque senatui, ut legatos cum virginibus Vestalibus mitterent pacem aut certe tempus ad consultandum petituros.

200. IBID

DOMITIAN

viii.3-4

incesta Vestalium virginum, a patre quoque suo et fratre neglecta, varie ac severe coercuit, priora capitali supplicio, posteriora more veteri. Nam cum Oculatis sororibus, item Varronillae liberum mortis permisisset arbitrium corruptoresque earum relegasset. mox Corneliam

maximam virginem absolutam olim, dein longo intervallo repetitam atque convictam defodi imperavit stupratoresque virgis in Comitio ad necem caedi, excepto praetorio viro, cui, dubia etiam tum causa et incertis quaestionibus atque tormentis de semet professo, exsilium indulsit.

201. SYMMACHUS

EPISTLES

ed. Callu II.xxxvi.2-4

Praetextatō nostro monumentum statuae dicare destinant virgines sacri Vestalis antistites. Consulti pontifices, priusquam reverentiam sublimis sacerdotii aut longae aetatis usum vel condicionem temporis praesentis expenderent, absque paucis, qui me secuti sunt, ut eius opificium statuerent admierunt. Ego qui adverterem neque honestati virginum talia in viros obsequia convenire neque more fieri quod Numa auctor, Metellus conservator religionum omnesque pontifices maximi numquam ante meruerunt, haec quidem silui, ne sacrorum aemulis enuntiata noxam crearent inusitatum censentibus; exemplum modo vitandum esse rescripsi, ne res iusto orta principio brevi ad indignos per ambitum perveniret.

202. IBID

RELATIONES

ed. Barrow III.11

Quanto commodo sacri aerarii vestri Vestalium virginum praerogativa detracta est? sub largissimis imperatoribus denegetur, quod parcissimi praestiterunt? honor solus est in illo veluti stipendio castitatis: ut vittae earum capiti decus faciunt, ita insigne ducitur sacerdotii vacare muneribus, nudum quoddam nomen immunitatis requirunt quoniam paupertate a dispendio tutae sunt. Itaque amplius laudi earum tribuunt, qui aliquid rei detrahunt, siquidem salutis publicae dicata virginitas crescit merito, cum caret praemio.

203. IBID

III.14

Capiunt legata liberti, servis testamentorum iusta commoda non

negantur: tantum nobiles virgines et fatalium sacrorum ministri excludentur praesidiis hereditate quaesitis? quid iuvat saluti publicae castum corpus dicare et imperii aeternitatem caelestibus fulcire praesidiis, armis vestris, aquilis vestris amicas adplicare virtutes, pro omnibus efficacia vota suscipere, et ius cum omnibus non habere?

204. IBID

III.17

quid tale provinciae pertulerunt, cum religionum ministros honor publicus pasceret? quando in usum hominum concussa quercus, quando vulsae sunt herbarum radices, quando alternos regionum defectus deseruit fecunditas mutua, cum populo et virginibus sacris communis esset annona? commendabat enim terrarum proventum victus antistitum et remedium magis quam largitas erat. an dubium est, semper pro copia omnium datum, quod nunc inopia omnium vindicavit?

205. TACITUS

HISTORIES

I.43

Piso in aedem Vestae pervasit, exceptusque misericordia publici servi et contubernio eius abditus non religione nec caerimoniis sed latebra imminens exitium differebat, cum advenere missu Othonis nominatim in caedem eius ardentis Sulpicius Florus e Britannicis cohortibus, nuper a Galba, civitate donatus, et Statius Murcus speculator, a quibus protractus Piso in foribus templi trucidatur.

206. IBID

III.81

Obviae fuere et virgines Vestales cum epistulis Vitellii ad Antonium scriptis: eximi supremo certamini unum diem postulabat: si moram interiecissent, facilius omnia conventura. Virgines cum honore dimissae; Vitellio rescriptum Sabini caede et incendio Capitolii dirempta belli commercia.

207. IBID

ANNALS

II.86

Post quae rettulit Caesar capiendam virginem in locum Occiae, quae septem et quinquaginta per annos summa sanctimonia Vestalibus sacris praesederat; egitque grates Fonteio Agrippae et Domitio Pollioni quod offerendo filias de officio in rem publicam certarent. Praelata est Pollionis filia, non ob aliud quam quod mater eius in eodem coniugio manebat; nam Agrippa discidio domum imminuerat. Et Caesar quamvis posthabitam decies sestertii dote solatus est.

208. IBID

XI.32

et Vibidiam, virginum Vestalium vetustissimam, oravit pontificis maximi auris adire, clementiam expetere.

209. IBID

XV.22

Defunctaque virgo Vestalis Laelia, in cuius locum Cornelia ex familia Cossorum capta est.

210. TERTULLIAN

DE SPECTACULIS

V.93

Et nunc ara Conso illi in circo demersa est ad primas metas sub terra cum inscriptione eiusmodi: CONSUS CONSILIO MARS DUELLO LARES COILLO POTENTES. Sacrificant apud eam nonis Iuliis sacerdotes publici, XII Kalend. Septembres flamen Quirinalis et virgines.

211. VARRO

DE AGRICULTURA

I.69

Messum far promendum hieme in pistrino ad torrendum, quod ad cibatum expeditum esse velis; quod ad sationem, tum promendum, cum segetes maturae sunt ad accipiendum.

212. IBID

DE LINGUA LATINA

V.viii.45

Reliqua urbis loca olim discreta, cum Argeorum sacraria septem et

viginti in (quattuor) partis urbi(s) sunt disposita. Argeos dictos putant a principibus, qui cum Hercule Argivo venerunt Romam et in Saturnia subsederunt.

213. IBID

V.x.74

Feronia, Minerva, Novensides a Sabinis, Paulo aliter ab eisdem dicimus haec: Palem, Vestam, Salutem, Fortunam, Fontem, Fidem.

214. IBID

V.xxxii.144

Oppidum quod primum conditum in Latio stirpis Romanae, Lavinium: nam ibi dii Penates nostri.

215. IBID

V.xxxiii.161

Cavum aedium dictum qui locus tectus intra parietes relinquebatur patulus, qui esset ad com(m)unem omnium usum.

216. IBID

VI.iii.17

Dies Vestalia ut Virgines Vestales a Vesta.

217. IBID

VI.iii.21

Opeconsiva dies ab dea Ope Consiva, cuius in Regia sacrarium quod adeo artum, ut eo praeter virgines Vestales et sacerdotem publicum introeat nemo.

218. IBID

VI.iv.24

Dies Septimontium nominatus ab his septem montibus, in quis sita Urbs est;

219. IBID

VI.vi.32

Dies qui vocatur "Quando stercum delatum fas," ab eo appellatus, quod

eo die ex Aede Vestae stercus everritur et per Capitolinum Clivum in locum defertur certum.

220. IBID

VII.iii.44

Argei ab Argis: Argei fiunt e scirpeis, simulacra hominum XXVII; ea quotannis de Ponte Sublicio a sacerdotibus publice deici solent in Tiberim.

221. VELLEIUS PATERCULUS

II.cxxxi.1

Voto finiendum volumen est. Iuppiter Capitoline, et auctor ac stator Romani nominis Gradive Mars, perpetuorumque custos Vestae ignium et quidquid numinum hanc Romani imperii molem in amplissimum terrarum orbis fastigium extulit.

222. VIRGIL

AENEID

I.257-271

"parce metu, Cytherea; manent immota tuorum
fata tibi; cernes urbem et promissa Lavini
moenia, sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli
magnanimum Aenean; neque me sententia vertit.
hic tibi (fabor enim, quando haec te cura remordet,
longius et volvens fatorum arcana movebo)
bellum ingens geret Italia populosque feroces
contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet,
tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas,
ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.
at puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo
additur (Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno),
triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis
imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini
transferet, et longam multa vi muniet Albam.

223. IBID

II.296-297

sic ait, et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem
aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.

224. IBID

V.743-745

haec memorans cinerem et sopitos suscitatur ignis,
Pergameumque Larem et canae penetralia Vestae
farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra.

225. IBID

VIII.190-199

iam primum saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem,
disiectae procul ut moles desertaque montis
stat domus et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.
hic spelunca fuit, vasto summota recessu,
semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat,
solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti
caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis
ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.
huic monstro Volcanus erat pater: illius atros
ore vomens ignis magna se mole ferebat.

226. IBID

IX.257-261

"immo ego vos, cui sola salus genitore reducto"
excipit Ascanius, "per magnos Nise, Penates
Assaracique Larem et canae penetralia Vestae
obtestor:

227. [IBID]

COPA

25-26

huc, Calybita, veni: lassus iam sudat asellus:
parce illi; Vestae delictum est asinus.

228. IBID

GEORGICS

I.498-501

dii patrii, Indigetes, et Romule Vestaque mater,
 quae Tuscum Tiberium et Romana Palatia servas,
 hunc saltem everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo
 ne prohibete!

229. IBID

IV.384-385

ter liquido ardentem perfundit nectare Vestam,
 ter flamma ad summum tecti subiecta reluxit.

230. [IBID]

MORETUM

47-55

iamque subactum

levat opus palmisque suum dilatat in orbem
 et notat impressis aequo discrimine quadris.
 infert inde foco (Scybale mundaverat aptum
 ante locum) testisque tegit, super aggerat ignis.
 dumque suas peragit Volcanus Vestaque partes,
 Simylus interea vacua non cessat in hora,
 verum aliam sibi quaerit opem, neu sola palato
 sit non grata Ceres, quas iungat comparat escas.

231. ZOSIMUS

HISTORIA NOVA ed.Paschoud V.38

ὅς τις θεοδόσος ὁ πρεσβύτης, τὴν Ἐυγενὺς ἀδελῶν τυραννίδα, τὴν ῥύμην
 κατέλαβε, καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγιστείας ἐνεποίησε πᾶσαν ὀλιγωρίαν, τὴν
 δημοσίαν δαπάνην τοῖς ἱεροῖς χορηγεῖν ἀρνησάμενος, ἀπηλαύνοντο μὲν
 ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱέρειαι, κατελιμπάνετο δὲ πάσης ἱερουργίας τὰ τεμένη. τότε
 τοίνυν ἐπεγγελῶσα τῷτοις ἡ Ξερῆνα, το μητρώον ἰδεῖν ἐβώλη. ἢ.
 Ἰεασαμένη δὲ τῷ τῆς ῥέας ἀγάλματι περικείμενον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγάλματος,
 τῷ ἑαυτῆς ἐπέδηκε τραχήλῳ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρεσβύτης ἐκ τῶν Ἑσιακῶν
 περιλελειμμένη παρδενων, ὠνείδισεν αὐτῇ κατὰ προσωπον τὴν

ἀσεβειαν, περιύβρισέ τε καὶ ἀπελαυνεσαι διὰ τῶν ἐπομένων
ἐκέλευσεν.

APPENDIX III

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